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These Travels were written by
~~Doctor~~ John Hill who went into
Sweden to visit Linnæus and by the
King of Sweden made Knight of
the Polar Star an Order for merit
The persons and Adventures however
in this Work are as it is said fictitious
tho upon the whole there are inter-
spersed in it many good remarks and
observations, and there can be but little
doubt that his accounts of the Countries
described, and the manufactures & Husbandry
of them are genuine

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The first of these is the
 fact that the British
 government has been
 very much more successful
 in its policy of
 maintaining a strong
 alliance with the
 United States than
 it has been in its
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 a strong alliance
 with France. This
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 with France.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

HOLLAND,
FLANDERS,
GERMANY,
DENMARK,
SWEDEN,

LAPLAND,
RUSSIA,
The UKRAINE,
AND
POLAND,

IN

The Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

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TRAVELS

Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

In which is particularly mentioned

THE PRINCE OF THE UKRAINE, DENMARK, SWEDEN, THOSE COUNTRIES, POLAND.

RESPECTING THEIR

AGRICULTURE, POPULATION, MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,

THE ARTS, AND USEFUL UNDERTAKINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq.

VOLUME I.

LONDON.

Printed for J. Almon, opposite Burlington House,

Piccadilly.

MDCCLXXII.

C
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FLANDERS,
GERMANY,
DENMARK,
SWEDEN,

LAPLAND,
RUSSIA,
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AND
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OF

THOSE COUNTRIES,

RESPECTING THEIR

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MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,

THE ARTS, AND USEFUL UNDERTAKINGS.

By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington House,
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MDCCLXXII.

1772

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FINLAND

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AGRICULTURE, POPULATION,

MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,

TOGETHER WITH A
DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERAL
PLACES VISITED, AND
A HISTORY OF THE
REIGN OF THE
EMPEROR JOSEPH II.

V O L U M E
C H A P T E R
I I I

CHAP. III.
OF THE
AGRICULTURE,
MANUFACTURES,
COMMERCE,
POPULATION,
AND THE
REIGN OF
JOSEPH II.

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P R E F A C E.

THE number of travels which have been lately published in England, France, and Germany, render an apology necessary for adding one more to the list; and this I flatter myself will be best done, by setting forth the design of my taking a journey through the northern parts of Europe, of above seven thousand miles; and by explaining the objects to which I particularly attended.

About eleven years ago, I went the usual tour of Europe, which is reckoned, though very falsely, a finishing of education: I then visited France, Italy, part of Spain, and some territories in Germany, running very eagerly after every thing produced by the fine arts, and thinking that painting, statuary, music, and the like, were the only objects worthy of notice. The pursuit, however, of a young traveller is usually pleasure, and the acquisition of that sort of knowledge, which will best enable him to shine in common conversation: but a pursuit of this kind will never be of real value; and I soon

found that I had spent much time, money, and attention, in order to return home, judiciously speaking, as ignorant as I went out. Reflection convinced me that there were numerous objects highly deserving attention in every country which I had passed by without notice; and I regretted a journey performed in the rawness of youth, which afforded me so little instruction.

A family loss, which filled me with a melancholy I cannot yet wear off, determined me again to quit England, and seek for that amusement in travelling, which my own country I found would not afford. But as I had been through the southern parts of Europe, where, indeed, every thing has been often and well described, and as such anticipated idea would be absolutely destructive of that novelty I sought by way of dissipation; I determined to spend some years in journeying through the Northern Parts, which would probably present me with a new world; the accounts I had read of most of them, being either very imperfect, or so old, that every thing might be altered since the authors wrote, so that I ran no risque of knowing too much before I set out.

With this intention I embarked for Holland, and spent some time in examining every

every thing worthy of attention in all the the provinces of the Dutch republic, which I will venture to assert, contain more that is worthy of a traveller's attention, provided he is something more than two and twenty, than any part of Italy. I had the good fortune to procure some very valuable intelligence there, by means of letters of recommendation I carried with me from England. I began my travels with viewing and enquiring into objects of more solidity and use, than I had ever thought of when abroad before; the state of the Dutch trade and manufactures, the value and products of their lands, &c. demanded, and had my attention. From my first landing, I determined to keep a journal of every thing I saw or heard, as well for employing many idle hours, which I knew I must have, as for the sake of retaining the information which I hoped to procure. With the same view, I inserted a translation of a paper or two published in Holland lately, upon their trade, yet with no design of publishing any thing myself. Afterwards, upon revising my manuscript, I let them keep their place, because they are short, and have not been translated before.

Flanders I visited next, and was much struck with the great exertions of good hus-

bandry I met with ; all which I minuted as accurately as a person is able to do, who has not practised the art.

I passed through the northern part of Germany, and found several particulars, even in the dreary tract of Westphalia, that were instructive. In Holstein, I made some observations on the management of certain lands, which I thought deserved attention.

In Denmark, I was very fortunate in meeting, accidentally, with a nobleman, whose great works in improving the agriculture of an extensive estate, establishing manufactures, bringing commerce to a port, and peopling a country, ought to render his name immortal ; by his means also, I gained recommendations to some persons of consequence at Copenhagen, and even in Sweden.

I traversed that very extensive kingdom, and did not find the most mountainous provinces barren of instruction : I have recorded many undertakings there of individuals, which do them no slight honour, and found several practices among the peasants, which may be of service even to English farmers.

Russia afforded me much greater information, respecting the present state of the revenues, forces, power, &c. of that great empire, than I could have gained if I had not

tra-

travelled through it. I believe the reader will find several circumstances of the manner and devastation of the Turkish war, more particularly treated here than in many other books. The Ukraine, I found a most fertile field of excellent husbandry; and entirely different from the idea I had formed of a Tartar territory from the books which mention that country.

The distracted state of Poland, allowed me no other opportunity, than to describe and explain its wretched situation.

My journey through the dominions of his Prussian Majesty and the Empress Queen, brought me much better acquainted with the state the last war left them in, and their abilities for engaging in another, or any other enterprize, than I could have gained by reading any books that have been published concerning them, of which there are some in Germany, and several in Holland.

It is but seldom that I have afforded any pages to paintings, and never unless the printed accounts are very erroneous. I have not given much attention to buildings, tho' I thought it proper not entirely to overlook them, as they are in some countries proofs of the political state being in good order. But I have never omitted any opportunities of

making observations on the state of the people, in every country I passed through; and discovering to what causes their happiness or their misery were owing: as also on the experiments and improvements in agriculture; on the state of manufactures, and the progress of commerce: these objects I thought much superior to others, and the more so as they have in general been almost entirely omitted by other travellers.

There is one circumstance which it is necessary I should explain: weights, coins, and measures, gave me infinite trouble. In the rough minutes I took as I travelled, all the foreign terms of this sort were retained, but I found my journal absolutely unintelligible to any body that was not extremely well versed in the proportions of this sort, between different kingdoms; this induced me to go very regularly through the whole, and reduce all to English weight and measure, which I effected throughout the whole journey, so that now every thing will be intelligible; whereas, had I informed the reader, that in Poland wheat yields five *crutks* to the *busching*, it would be attended with no more use, than if I gave the measures of the moon. I have therefore struck out foreign terms of this sort, and given the proportions as near
as

as I could possibly calculate them, in English.

Making every where such numerous enquiries into the state of agriculture, &c. was the occasion of my putting myself to the great trouble and expence of an interpreter, that I might be able to ask any questions I wanted, and understand the answers that were given me. I found this was a precaution absolutely necessary in an undertaking such as I embarked in, and which no person will be able to dispense with, that ever attempts to travel upon such a plan.

I shall now take my leave of the reader for the present, with only observing, that I have not been induced to make public this journal, by the request of friends, or any such motive, and therefore I think it would be dissingenuous to pretend to it. Upon examining and reflecting on the plan I had laid down to myself, I thought a diligent execution of it would make me master of much useful knowledge, which I could not get from books; and after I had executed it, I thought (however I may have failed in many points) that the papers might be of use to others as well as to myself, and therefore determined to make them public.

I must request the reader to peruse them with candour, and remember that it is with much difficulty, and no slight labour, that I have collected them; under which circumstances, I hope he will pardon those errors and omissions, which I had it not in my power to prevent.

Travels

I must request the reader to pardon them with candour, and to remember that it is with much difficulty, and no slight labour, that I have collected them; and that, in some instances, I hope he will pardon those errors and omissions, which I had in me in my power to prevent.

Travels through Holland.

Passage from Haverhill to Haverhill—From
Haverhill to Haverhill—Observations on the
Country and Manners of the People—Descrip-
tion of Haverhill

A PRIOR to the 1st of 1788, I embarked on
board the King George packet, at
Haverhill, and thought it good
not bad, as the captain informed us, landed
the 8th, in the evening, at Haverhill.
I had been informed that the expenses were
under a regulation, and did not exceed a pen-
ny each, per diem; but mine rose, I suppose,
through imposition, to three pounds eight pence
things for myself and servant. When a
man travels, he should always expect to find
his expenses run higher than the account he
receives; such an idea is a precaution that
will prevent his falling into inconveniences;
and what is of equal importance to the agree-
ableness of a journey, will keep him from
incessant quarrels and petty disputes with the
lower

C H A P. I.

Passage from Harwich to Helvoet—From Helvoet to Rotterdam—Observations on the Country and Method of travelling.—Description of Rotterdam.

A PRIL the 6th, 1768, I embarked on board the King George packet, at Harwich ; and, after a passage, neither good nor bad, as the seamen informed us, landed the 8th, in the evening, at Helvoetfluys. I had been informed that the expences were under a regulation, and did not exceed a guinea each person ; but mine rose, I suppose, through imposition, to three pounds eighteen shillings for myself and servant. When a man travels, he should always expect to find his expences run higher than the account he receives ; such an idea is a precaution that will prevent his falling into inconveniences ; and what is of equal importance to the agreeableness of a journey, will keep him from incessant quarrels and petty disputes with the
lower

lower sort of the natives of the countries through which he travels; from which, too many persons have dealt in very large abuse of whole nations.

I was very fortunate during my passage to meet with an English gentleman, who had been several times in Holland; he gave me many cautions for conducting myself during my stay in the Provinces, which I apprehend will prove useful to me; he appeared, however, rather too great an œconomist; for if he is not peculiarly saving, I am to expect nothing less than being fleeced unmercifully; and if I make any resistance, am to look only for a brutal superiority, not only from the inferior magistrates, but also from every common fellow I have a dispute with: I never was full of an idea of Dutch politeness, but these opinions, I think, cannot be very well founded.

Helvoet has the appearance of a little dirty fishing town: the cleanliness of the Dutch is very famous, but I have seen few marks of it there. The harbour is excellent, from its depth and security; the States generally have several men of war here ready for service: I observed six ships, five of them large; one was of 80 guns, one of 70, three of 60, and one of 40. I made enquiries concerning their
fleet

fleet in general, and was told that their High Mightinesses had powerful squadrons elsewhere. The fortifications appear to be considerable.

It was in the evening when I landed, so I had my first specimen at Helvoet of a Dutch Inn; they gave me fish extremely well dressed in the English manner, were civil, and though not cheap in the bill, by no means extravagant; the bed was not a good one, but I did not lay my account with meeting them so good in general in Holland as at home. I found no difficulty in being understood in French, but when I wanted to put questions to any people I met, my man was something of an interpreter, having a smattering of Dutch, which indeed was the best part of his character, and for which I hired him in London.

Next morning, the 9th, I ordered a chaise to carry me to Briel, but was told there was only one in the town, and that gone another way towards Dordrecht. What other conveyance is there? A post waggon, Sir. Very good; I will see this waggon: Where is it? Gone, Sir, at eight o'clock. When does it go again? To-morrow morning at the same hour. This was very unpleasant news, for the weather was not fairly agreeable, and
the

the matter ended in walking to Briel. I left my baggage to come by the first conveyance directly to Rotterdam.

From Helvoet to Briel is between five and six miles English, through a country not agreeable; much of the road bad and sandy. I observed two ploughs at work, each drawn by six oxen; the tillage they gave was very incomplete; they designed the land for barley, for which grain it seemed by no means in order: They used wheel ploughs, which were not so heavy as the draft would make one think.

Briel, as well as Helvoet, stands in an island, which the Dutch call Voorn, though the principal town in it. It is but a poor fishing place. The fortifications render it in reputation very strong; but the finest object is the river Maese at high water, which is a mile and half over; trade seems to stagnate through the neighbourhood of this flourishing town of Rotterdam. The air all round Briel, and indeed through the whole island, is thick and foggy; and yet, as if to add to the stagnation of it, they have planted the town full of trees, which are in rows in the streets, instead of posts: This seems very preposterous. I dined at the City of Amsterdam, which is the principal inn; had extreme

treme fine foals, chickens, and oyſter ſauce, with ſeveral plates of greens ſtewed, though not in greaſe, and a bottle of claret; and the bill for myſelf and ſervant came to nine florins, or fifteen ſhillings Engliſh; here let me obſerve, that a florin, or guilder, is twenty pence Engliſh, and a ſtiver ſomething better than a penny; twenty ſtivers make one florin. The inn, and the accommodation, appears from a tranſitory view to be tolerable, but not equal to what I expected from the Engliſh ones. My landlord was ſurprized I ſhould take Rotterdam in my way to the Hague; aſſured me, that travellers uſually croſſed from Briel to Maeflandfluys, and thence to Delft, and Leyden; but as I purpoſed taking another route ſouthwards to Flanders, I ſilenced Minheer with my reaſon.

From Briel I took my paſſage in a regular ſailing boat, the diſtance twelve Engliſh miles, which it performed in two hours and an half; I paid eight ſtivers for myſelf, and as much for the ſervant. This is travelling in a very cheap, and not a diſagreeable manner, except the circumſtance of uſing a cabbin, in common, with whatſoever company may happen to take places; on many occaſions this muſt be odious. We paſſed Maeflandfluys

fluyts and Schiedam ; the banks of the Maese do not give one any great idea of the country.

At Rotterdam I arrived late in the evening, and fixed my quarters at the English inn on Gelders-quay ; here I met with good rooms, excellent provisions, and a civil English landlord ; I informed him of my design of staying some days in the city, requesting that I might be treated in a fair manner, proportioned to the money I spent at his house, naming Mr. Godewynus Zaayman, a merchant, well known in Rotterdam, and of considerable wealth, to whom I had letters of recommendation ; intimating, that I should appeal to him, in case of receiving any improper treatment : he replied, I should find his house equal to any in England, that he had for his customers the best gentry that took the tour of Holland. I took the first opportunity of waiting on M. Zaayman, and found him extremely friendly and polite ; he pressed me much to take my quarters at his house, from which I excused myself, on several accounts ; but I dined twice or thrice with him during my stay, and visited him often at other hours ; he introduced me to several persons, from whom I received civilities. M. Zaayman gave me much intelligence concerning the present state of Holland,

land, in several points, relative to trade and manufactures, that I had made memorandums to enquire after, which he did in a manner that shewed at once his readiness to oblige me, and his excellent and penetrating understanding.

Rotterdam is a large city, very populous, and elegantly situated for trade; it is second to Amsterdam alone, coming nearer to that famous emporium of trade than any port in England does to London. The Maese here is a very noble river; and canals are cut from it through every part of the city, which are so deep and broad, that ships of above 300 tons load and unload directly into the quays, and into the warehouses on the banks. The sides of many of the canals are planted with tall trees, which united with the masts and flags of the shipping, and the houses too, form a spectacle that strikes one with its oddity: I had not seen any thing like it.

I was informed that this city had in every instance but one, the advantage of Amsterdam, ships of large burthen cannot go up to the latter, but are forced to unload. Both the Maese and the Texel are frozen in winter; but in hard seasons, the former has the ice broken much sooner, which is a great advantage in trade; add to this, that the

country about Rotterdam, is, as they assert, far more pleasant, the air more healthy, and the water better than at Amsterdam; but the bank of Amsterdam, and its being the seat of commercial government, overcomes all these superiorities, and gives it incomparably the greatest trade.

Nine tenths of the British trade with the United Provinces centers at this place; which is owing to the advantages of the situation; many ship-loads of goods, consigned for Amsterdam, are sent hither, and go by canals to that city: two or three hundred sail of British vessels are sometimes in the harbour at once. There is also a considerable share of the East India trade here, with very great magazines of those goods; and a glass manufactory, which only works for the East India ships: I saw in it a vast quantity of toys done in enamel, bowls, cups, saucers, plates, figures, &c. many of which were in a grotesque stile, and well executed; these, they told me met with a ready sale in the islands depending on the Dutch empire in that region.

Several of the streets are very spacious and well built. Heeren-street is the finest. The houses are built of hewn stone; but the Boompies is more agreeable, lying along the Maese,

Maese, the length more than half a mile : It seems like a vast quay, on one side is the river full of ships, and on the other the street bounded by trees, and then by very large and well built houses ; here the best company in the city resort, to walk and converse, something in the stile of St. James's Park, though it may be supposed much inferior. I had heard much of the churches in Rotterdam, but none of them are striking. The Exchange is a very large, and massy building, which gives one a good idea of the wealth of the place.

This city is very famous for having given birth to Erasmus ; I was shewed with an awkward kind of ostentation, the house in which he was born : on the Great Bridge is a tolerable brass statue of him ; he is represented with a flowing gown, and a cap on, and a book in his hand ; the pedestal is of marble, inclosed with iron rails : the expression is not great.

All sorts of provisions are very dear at this place ; even fish, that is good, is far from cheap : The Dutch are amazingly industrious, and all the lower classes very frugal, or it would be impossible for them to live : if the poor at Rotterdam were to squander and drink away as much as they do in the towns

of England, they would starve; this may easily be conceived, when I inform the reader, that, during my stay here, bread was never less than two pence half-penny a pound. Wine is cheaper than in England, but they have much that is very bad; I could not live decently with one servant at the inn for less than twenty florins a day, which is 1l. 13s. 4d. this certainly is as dear upon the whole as England.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Journey from Rotterdam to the Hague—Description of that famous village—The neighbouring Country—Agriculture—The People—Haerlem—To Amsterdam.

FROM Rotterdam, I took the way on the 14th, by Delft, to the Hague, in a treckſchuyt, or paſſage boat: the diſtance to the former of theſe places is only fix Engliſh miles, for which I paid for myſelf and ſervant only twelve ſtivers; theſe boats are very peculiar conveyances, they go at the rate of three miles and a half an hour: the only ſtops they make, are at certain little towns, from which they expect to take in freſh paſſengers. It is drawn by an horſe, and will hold about fifteen paſſengers in the cabbin, or covered room, with convenience; but the miſchief is, that the maſter, or ſkipper, will crowd it with twenty, and even twenty-five, on account of the profit of the fares; and indeed, I believe if he could pack them as cloſe, he would ſtuff it as full as a

barrel of herrings. I have read in some books, that pretend to give an exact account of Holland, that these boats are the most agreeable travelling in the world; but I beg to add, in relation only to cheapness. I took this passage with two and twenty other passengers; we are told that the passengers may talk, knit, sew, read, and do whatever they like; which is undoubtedly true: they may perform all these agreeable functions, just in the manner in which they are performed in an English stage coach, in which six are crammed, all perhaps great, fat, or opulent wretches, that are made only to be a plague to the next on the seat. I can conceive, a stage coach half full, and none but agreeable company in it, may prove a very agreeable conveyance; but what are these boasted treck-schuyts, when you have a dozen Dutch boors in them, who setting at nought the cleanliness of their country, will spit close at your feet, whatever be your rank, and will shew as little idea of civility, or even humanity, as the most drunken hackney coachman at London.

But what can be expected from a conveyance that carries one at the rate of about a penny a mile; if travelling is very cheap, very low, and vulgar people will travel. At London, we have stages that go five or six
miles

miles for a shilling, nothing so detestable; the cheapness induces all the blackguards who were born to use their feet, not coaches, to become passengers; and a gentleman, or any man that has two ideas, is offended at the lowness of the company he meets in them. It appears very clearly to me, that every thing which is cheap, is made or managed with a peculiar view to those that are poor, and will in general suit them only: It may be said that men of education, genius, science, and so forth, are often poor; but what then? Am I to be pestered with the company of half a score Dutch boors, because it is probable that a man of genius may now and then honour it with his presence. But however, to do justice to these boats, I shall readily allow, that if the fare was six-pence a mile, they would be a most agreeable method of travelling: They are well built, the cabin a good room, with windows so disposed that you see much of the country. The canals are not only deep, but from thirty to seventy feet wide; they set off at regular hours, and arrive at the same.

Delft is an agreeable place, I conceive it to be half as large as Norwich, in England; the principal object in it is the manufactory of earthen ware. Mr. Gerardus van Wessel-

inck is at present the principal manufacturer; I had a letter to him, intimating that I should be glad of some intelligence concerning the present state of their fabrick; he willingly obliged me in this, but as he did not speak French, I was obliged to get an interpreter. He told me that their porcelane employed about four thousand people, men, women, and children; that the manufacture was once so flourishing as to support more than seven thousand, but the setting up a fabric of white stone ware in England was very prejudicial to it, though not near so much as the establishment of the Staffordshire cream-coloured ware: in this respect things had been so changed, that English ware rivalled the Delft, not only in the British consumption, but even in their own city, where the sale of it had alarmed the principal manufacturers so much, as to induce them to apply more than once to the States, for a prohibition of it: this has not yet been granted, but very high duties are already laid; the use of it still continuing, they are now attempting the same manufacture here to rival the English; but from the specimens I saw of it, I do not think there is any danger of their succeeding.

Making beer is also a trade in which the people of Delft much employ themselves,
and

and it flourishes tolerably well: there was formerly a considerable cloth manufacture, but the setting up rivals to it in France, in Lewis XIVth's time, brought it to a very low ebb.

From this place to the Hague, the distance is but four miles; and as the road was good, and chaises commonly passing, I preferred that conveyance to the passage boat. The whole country is one continued rich meadow. I arrived there the 16th.

The Hague is a considerable city, though called a village, from the ridiculous reason of its not being walled. It has more of the *rus in urbe* than any place I have seen; the streets are broad and regular, but few of them without trees; the squares are groves; and the numerous gardens, in union of the whole, with the surrounding meadows, which is hardly ever broken by those dirty receptacles of filth, and innumerable brick-kilns, and cow-yards that encompass London, render it quite country, and make it charming to those who love these rural doings in the midst of a city.

I was recommended to the Parliament of England, as the best inn, and one to which all persons of any consideration resorted. I found it fully answerable to the character I
had

had received : although I was moderate in ordering at meals, as well through œconomy as a dislike at a table fully covered for a single person, yet I could not come off for less than two regular courses, and several sorts of excellent wine ; indeed I found it to little purpose to be explicit in directing what I would have for meals, for I was served with a variety, whether I would have it or not ; the expences ran at about two guineas a day on an average ; but I entertained some persons of character, in consequence of letters I had procured to them. There is no satisfaction in travelling expensively, especially in eating and drinking, further than proportioned to a man's rank and fortune ; and I had ever entertained an idea, that money was better expended in purchasing the rarities, or other peculiar productions, as far as my purse would allow, than squandering large sums at inns, and on the road. It was not my design to make any long stay at the Hague, or I should have enquired out private lodgings, and a more economical way of living. I mention these circumstances as a hint to other travellers, that they may consider and lay their plan of residence before hand ; for my stay was longer, and consequently more expensive, than I designed.

In

In general, I had met with nothing but Dutch beds in Holland, that is of four or five feet high; a young couple, on their wedding night, unless their blood is true Dutch, I should think would run the hazard of breaking their necks; in truth they are fit only for the most sober sleepers; but on hinting a dislike, I was shewn to an apartment fitted up in the English stile.

The streets at the Hague are extremely well paved with clinkers, that have an appearance of bricks, and the joints so well made, that they admit of washing like an house, and the inhabitants seem to vie with each other in this public cleanliness; those of each house keep that bit clean which is before it; this makes walking in them wonderfully agreeable. I observed the spirit of this cleanness at Rotterdam and Delft, but the pavements not being equally good, the effects are not so visible as here; and here let me remark, that the extreme idea of keeping their houses clean, of which I have so often read uncommon accounts, seems rather to have declined among them. I think I have been in many houses in England, that are kept to the full as clean as any that I have chanced to see in Holland; but this extends, however, only to the better ranks of the people, for among the lower
ones

ones there is no comparifon between the two nations : a Dutch cottage, or the houfe of an inferior tradesman, with ever fo many children in it, is as clean as poffible; but in England, fuch are too often the refidence of filth and naftinefs. We have a female character among us, that is vulgarly called a *dawdle*, but fuch a character is not to be met in Holland.

One circumftance which I have heard fome of my countrymen find terrible fault with, is the fuel; a fire of wood will coft as much at the Hague, as feven fires at London, and I faw no coal; turf is the only firing. I have no objection to it; the abfence of fmoak, which from fea coal is beaftly, and from wood death to ones eyes, is a great advantage; add to this, that the moft afthmatic man will find no inconvenience to his breath from turf. But as to the ftoves, and rooms heated by ftoves, they appear to me extremely difagreeable; custom I fuppofe would reconcile them; but the chearful fociety of an Englifh fire far exceeds thefe contrivances.

This place carries a very different appearance from any other I had feen in Holland; bu-
fines, and making money, is one of the only employments and pleasures you fee at Rotterdam; but the Hague has very little trade
going

going forward; to make amends for which, here is as much good company as at any other place in Europe; all foreign ministers reside here; it is the court of the Prince of Orange, and the meetings of the States-general are never held at any other place: the number of elegant equipages is great, and the expensive dresses you see, the number of servants, the general air of luxury and pleasure, all carried a very different appearance from any thing I had yet seen: but notwithstanding its being the residence of so many idle people, who spend great incomes, still the Hague is miserably provided with public diversions. I went to a place they called the opera-house, and there met with a French comedy, wofully acted; it gave me a distaste of their theatre: and this is the principal house of amusement, which is partly supported by the subscriptions of foreign ministers. I was informed that operas are now and then performed, when singers are to be had: concerts they have pretty often, and tolerably good; the best however are at private houses.

But what I lost in the public way, I gained in the more private; on my delivering my letters to several persons of some distinction, and waiting on Sir Joseph Yorke, I was introduced to some good company, that contributed

buted greatly to make my residence perfectly agreeable; the parties I attended were, as I believe is the case in all the great cities in Europe, much more to my inclinations than any entertainment I could receive in public.

The public buildings at the Hague make no figure; the houses that form the streets and squares being in general much superior, many of these are great. The palace, as they call it, has several courts, but is a poor building: that of Prince Maurice, Governor of Brazil, is not at all striking.

The Voohout is the Dutch Mall, and is about as broad as that of St. James, but not near so long: it was planted by the Emperor Charles V. there are three contiguous ways for coaches, and the buildings that face it make a good figure; but what is very amazing, instead of gravel, they have made it of cockle shells, which in treading has a vile effect. This is strange, as gravel might be had at no dear rate from our Thames. Sand is the general substitute in Holland, and this alone is a great deduction from the beauty, or rather formality of their gardens. This Mall is, however, as much deserted as our Ring.

The Prince Graft is a very noble street, near half a mile long, of a grand breadth, and as strait as an arrow; a very spacious canal,
planted

planted on both sides, runs along the middle of it, having several stone bridges with iron ballustrades over it; the houses, especially one side, make a fine appearance, and the whole, in a word, is a very great ornament to the Hague. But it is a strong instance that this planting of streets has not an effect equal to a fine range of buildings, unaccompanied with trees: a canal regularly cut through a very wide street, faced with stone, accords perfectly well with the regularity of houses, and is a great improvement, but trees have nothing to do in the case.

Having spent eight days very agreeably at the Hague, I made an excursion the 24th of April to Scheveling, a village about two miles off, on the sea coast; the road to it through the sand banks is curious. Here the company from the Hague come to eat fish fresh caught, and some to bathe. The coast is very well worth viewing, to see the great attention and care that is given to keep the banks in order, to defend the country from the sea. On this beach, which is very flat and regular, was used the famous sailing chariot of Stevinus, which carried eight and twenty persons the astonishing distance of 42 miles in two hours; and once, by an error in him that held the rudder, if we may so call it, was very near
failing

sailing with a full cargo into the sea, which was rather more than they bargained for. The great success of this famous machine has, in different parts of Europe, produced many imitators; and an hundred schemes for conducting not only coaches and chariots, but also carts and waggons, and even ploughs, harrows, and rollers, by wind: something useful might probably be done in it; but sound mathematicians wanting money for such experiments, they have never gone further than the closets of visionaries and dabblers.

On my return in the afternoon, I took a walk to the Wood near the Hague, belonging to the Prince of Orange, which is famous in Holland; but nothing in it will in the least strike a person used to the gardens in England: in the house is a fine saloon or ball-room, with a cupola in the ceiling: it is richly ornamented with very fine pictures, many by Rubens, Vanderwerfe, Varelst, Schuyr, &c.

The 25th I employed in visiting Ryswick, a palace belonging to the Prince of Orange, and famous for the peace concluded there. It is the only building of free stone in the Seven Provinces: it is strongly enveloped in wood, which darkens every room; this passion

sion of crouding all their houses with wood is unaccountable in the Dutch. In a hilly bleak country, where wind and plenty of air were evils, one would naturally look for this taste, but it is preposterous in a dead flat, in which the air is as apt to stagnate as the water, and consequently the more open the better. Nothing in the palace, but a few good pictures, is worthy of observation. At Honflaerdyck, another palace belonging to the same Prince, is a gallery of many very fine paintings, by the best masters of the Flemish school. Many of the lower rooms are richly paved with fine marble; and there is a closet of the Princess's entirely wainscotted with old japan.

The 26th I left the Hague, and took the treckschuyt for Leyden, being not more than nine miles, and paid for myself and servant fourteen stivers: I was very fortunate in company, so the mode of travelling turned out for this time very agreeable; we were near three hours on the way. I took up my quarters at the Golden-ball, and let me here remark, as I have mentioned the inn, that I found the accommodation good, but dear. Leyden is a very large, and in general an handsome city, fortified, but not strongly. There are few canals in it, which gives it in

this country a peculiar appearance ; but the water is much complained of as being bad ; the canals they have stagnate, and the putrid exhalations are mischievous.

The streets are long, broad, and strait, and the houses very well built ; the Rapenburg street is a very noble one, but not, as the inhabitants assured me, the finest in Europe. The great church is a very fine building. Nothing in the stadthouse is worthy of observation, but a picture of the last judgment, by Luke of Leyden. The university here is the most famous in Holland, and well known all over Europe for having produced many very great men.

I was particular in my enquiries into the state of the woollen manufacture here, which has long been very considerable ; the workmen consist of several nations, and among others, several French refugees : the fabrick employs several thousand men and women, and some children ; they make chiefly broad and narrow cloths, ferges, and camlets, but they are inferior to the finest cloths of the same kind made in England. I desired to be informed if this inferiority was owing to a want of fine wool, or to a want of markets ; the former is the account that has been given by numerous authors, that have mentioned these fabrics :

fabrics: a very intelligent, and seemingly candid master manufacturer, assured me, that they attended principally to making those cloths that met with the readiest sale through Turkey and the East Indies, Spain, and other countries; that cloths equally fine with the English would not sell, not from being disliked, but from their dearness: they have made cloths as fine as any in England, and sold them as cheap as the English, but the price, throughout all their foreign markets, regulates their manufacture. That as to wool, they got much from Spain, which answered all the purposes of fine, some from Great Britain and Ireland; but, added he, not so much as the English apprehend. The coarse comes from Germany, and large quantities from Poland and Turkey. I asked him how they came to buy fine cloths from England to export, as I well knew they did at Rotterdam, if their own were in more request on account of cheapness? he replied, that he meant only in general; that certain individuals, regardless of price in all the regions to which their fabrics were exported, would have the very best, but it was nothing in comparison with the bulk of the demand, which was for cheap cloths; and that they found it so much more advantageous to put only coarse ones in their

looms, that they readily submitted to purchase the finer sorts from England.

I found they all agreed very well in complaining of the decline of trade; they assured me that the manufactures of Leyden were, fifty years ago, at least one third more considerable than they are at present, and what is worse, they rather decline every day. I enquired the reason of this declension; they told me it could only be attributed to the great progress made in manufactures in France, England, and Germany; that the English rivalled them more and more every day; that the fabrics of France, in time of peace, did them much mischief at present, but in the last century were a mortal blow to the Leyden ones; that in Germany several Princes, who formerly cloathed their armies entirely with the Dutch cloth, had lately established manufactures for supplying themselves.

Before I quit Leyden, I must offer a few observations on the country through which I have passed since I left Rotterdam: all this part of Holland is in general a very rich meadow, scarcely an arable field being any where seen: these meadows are very rich; they are quite flat, on a loamy marl soil; as near as I could compute, I reckon the rents of them to rise from forty shillings to six pounds

pounds an acre, English measure. They are principally applied to feeding cows, of the large breed, which in England is called the Dutch, and by some the Holderneffe cattle. The peasants are remarkably attentive in the management of their cows; they keep them housed through a very long winter, and as clean as an English gentleman would his race-horse: they do not effect this by means of much litter; on the contrary, they use none at all; but they make a trench of stone or brick in the floor of a cow-room, so exactly placed, that the dung may fall directly into it, which being taken regularly away, and the dirt of the rest of the house swept into it, forms a good compost; and the saving of straw, where there is no arable land, is an object of capital importance. They further rub and curry their cows, so as to keep them as clean as any horses, which they think essential to their giving much milk; and they keep their houses as warm as possible, stopping every crevice till the breath of the beasts makes the whole house perfectly warm: this I think is a strange custom, and seems very contrary to nature; but they carry this notion so far as to cloath their cows in summer, while they are in the meadows feeding; this makes a strange sight.

Besides cows, these pastures are fed by vast herds of black cattle, which are bought by Dutch drovers in Holstein and Denmark; they are purchased for about forty or fifty shillings a head, and when brought to Holland, more than an hundred miles, are sold to the Dutch farmers at three or four pounds a head; and it is very observable that these meadows are so rich that some of the beasts will be fattened in six weeks, but two months are a common time, and three months sufficient for the largest and worst thriving among them. The butchers buy them fat, at five, six, eight, and nine pounds a head; and as an English acre will fatten three of them, the farmer makes from three to six pounds an acre for only a part of the year; but this profit is not from hence to be calculated, his taxes and his rent leave him no great matter for his own use. It is asserted that the flesh of these oxen is not so firm, nor their hides so strong, nor so capable of making good leather, as those of English cattle; this is owing to the luxuriance of the food, puffing them up in two or three months, rather than giving them that solid fat which six or eight months effect in England: it is accordingly observed, that although some of these beasts are as large as the English ones, yet their flesh is not so heavy

heavy, so that they will not weigh equally with English beasts of the same appearance. As the Dutch eat very little beef fresh, the greatest part of these herds are salted for the use of the shipping, the East India company taking off great quantities; or dried and smoaked in a peculiar manner for hung beef, which they export as a rarity all over Europe.

As I am here speaking of the soil, and its produce, it will be proper to observe, that land sells dearer in the neighbourhood of Leyden, than in any other place in Europe, when applied only to cultivation and not to building: arable land sells for 200l. an acre; three acres have been sold for 650l. meadows sells at 130l. an acre; but the gardens, which are very famous, bring commonly from 250l. to 310l. pound an acre: the products they yield are highly valued by the connoisseurs in eating, insomuch that Amsterdam, though at nineteen miles distance, is principally supplied from hence. The gardeners are very skilful, not only in cropping their lands incessantly, upon the plan now pursued by the best around London, where this art is in as high perfection as in any place in the world.

The general fertility of the country, which for most products is very great, but especially

for grafs, is owing to the foil, and to every meadow being well watered: from the general flatnefs of the whole, and the neighbourhood of the fea, with the numerous rivers, it is evidently a drained marfh or bog: being all either a fat marly loam, mud, or a turf bog; thefe are rich foils, and with the advantage of cattle having always water to recourfe to, which the Dutch boors efteem a matter of great confequence both to fattening and milking, they perform the wonders that here are feen: much is owing therefore to fuch numbers of canals and rivers * that interfect the

* Among the rivers, it is very well known that the Rhine is very inconfiderable. At Leyden they fhew an insignificant canal, which is the real Rhine. The remark of a modern author, on this river, is very juft: “ The glory of other rivers increafes proportionably to the length of their courfe, but this dwindles to nothing, and is utterly loft before it comes to the harbour. After it has been forced to divide itfelf at Fort Schencken, where one half of its waters take the name of Wahall, the Yffel robs it of another part a little above Arnheim; ftill it goes on to that city, though much weakened; and about twenty miles from thence, is obliged to feparate again at the city of Duerftadt. Here its principal branch takes a new name, and is called the Leck, and the poor little ftripp’d rivulet turns to the right, retaining ftill the old name of Rhine, and paffes on to Utrecht, where it is divided a fourth

meadows, and probably somewhat to their overflowing large tracts in winter, and leaving, it may be presumed, some parallel advantages to those which are left by the Nile.

Before I quit the neighbourhood of the Hague and Leyden, which are reckoned the politest places in all the Provinces, and the most

fourth time. The Vecht breaks off that place, and takes its course to the north; and the little thread of water, which is yet called the Rhine, passes quietly to Worden. At length it comes to bid its last farewell to Leyden, and faintly finishes its course, by losing the small remainder of its waters in two or three canals, without having the honour to enter the sea. We are not ignorant of the cause of the Rhine's fate; it was an earthquake, which shook the Downs in the ninth century, and filling the mouth of this river, forced it to return and seek a new passage. The Leck was then scarce worth notice, but the waters of the Rhine, which were driven back and overflowed the country, and swelled and deepened the Leck's channel, and the entrance of the sea has been ever since shut up against the antient course of the Rhine. Thus this poor river, which runs such hazards in the Lake of Constance, and throws itself down the precipice near Shaffhausen, loses at length its reputation and waters at the village of Catwick. 'Tis related by several good authors, that the tract of land called Zealand, was at that time divided into the several islands we see now; and that those lands, woods, and meadows, which were between Amsterdam and the Texel, were overflowed and covered with those waters now remaining, and known by the name of the Zuyder Sea."

most learned, both from the one being a seat of government, and the residence of the foreign ministers, and the university of the other being the seat of the sciences and literature, let me offer the few remarks I have made on the characters of the people I have yet seen, that if there is any essential difference between them and the inhabitants of Amsterdam, and the more distant provinces, I may not confound them. There is a very great national resemblance among the lower classes of the people; and indeed, among all but the highest, who support themselves without trade, and who have travelled; the latter are all more or less French, or imitators of them; they speak that language only, dress in the French taste (which by the way is not very natural among the marshes of Holland) eat in the same, and give themselves some airs, as if they pretended to the French liveliness and vivacity: it is very evident, that this class is composed of such mongrel animals, that we must not take our ideas of the national character from it, because they carry in their very face the marks of being but bastard Dutch. Let me remark, however, that the Hague seems full of these Frenchified Dutchmen; that place not being supported by trade, but, on the contrary, the residence rather of idleness than industry; numerous

merous families reside in it that have left off business, or that live without its help, which, with the residence of foreign Ambassadors, may easily account for the motley appearance of character which we find in that city. It is also worth observing, that this character is found much at Leyden, though not near so common as at the Hague, but at Rotterdam there is a visible difference; this scale shews plainly that the character and the manners of the people are much formed by their close adhering to, or neglecting business. At Leyden, the university draws a great number of persons who have no views of trade, and who, therefore, affect the appearance and manners of the inhabitants; but at Rotterdam, every creature is deeply engaged in commerce, and consequently exhibit the true Dutch character much more to the life.

A close unbroken industry seems to be the strong mark that is met with in every one; no application wearies them, no accidents divert them; they are attentive only to the raising wealth; and it is astonishing to see the number of them that attain very great fortunes, and yet continue all their anxiety and eagerness to get more, without seeming to give the least attention to enjoying more than a very moderate competency. Their consti-
tutions

tutions are cold and phlegmatic to an amazing degree ; a sober, dry, regular, parsimonious way of life is habitual, and no passion seems to lurk in their bosoms that can be sufficient to ruffle them: This, however, cannot be attributed to the love of trade so much as the climate. A Dutchman is as amphibious as a frog ; half the country is water, and half their time is spent upon the water : the vapours from so much of it, and from a soil that is low, moist, and boggy, must have a strong effect on the minds of the inhabitants. What an astonishing contrast between love in Spain and Italy, and in Holland ! Would it not be amazing to tell a Neapolitan innamorato, that the height of his fine frenzy was mere climate ; that if he lived in Holland, he would regard his mistress with the most cool friendship ?

But these characteristics are not to be made general to the whole people, there are and must be many exceptions ; but the more of these are found, the more, I am clear, must be taken from those who have travelled, or from those who are idle. From parsimony, I expected a more universal appearance than I met with at Rotterdam, Delft, &c. I met with several merchants and manufacturers who lived genteelly, and though not all in
the

the French stile, yet in much ease, plenty, and evident affluence, while they stuck as closely to trade as if no such marks of wealth were found around them. They seem to indulge in expence at the table, and in their wines; the furniture, and fitting up of their houses are other articles, and equipage also. Dress, amusement, and servants, do not claim their attention so much.

But the true national character, unmixed, must be sought for among the lower classes: here are to be found the same coldness of constitution, with no other invigoration than comes from much strong beer, gin, and tobacco, all of which they take in large quantities: you see an uncommon, and even unre-mitted industry, which is absolutely necessary to keep them, where all the necessaries of life are at least one third dearer than in England: you also find a rough boorishness in them, much beyond what is met with elsewhere; the very lowest of the people will not pay the least mark of personal respect to the greatest merchant in a town: this is the effect of that equality which flows through a republic, and not mere liberty; for they are governed here with three times the severity that the lower people in England are, who have therefore more liberty, but
yet

yet we do not find this degree of boorishness. The low people in Holland have been reproached much with being passionate, drawing their knives on one another, and violently cruel in their insurrections; from the little stay I have made here, it is but justice to say that I have met with scarcely any instances, and I strongly believe, that whenever they happen, it is owing to their being too free with gin; for as to that choleric heat and sudden passion met with in the southern parts of Europe, I have not met with one instance; and yet from moving quickly about to examine every thing, it is a vast number of the people I have seen.

From Leyden to Haerlem the distance is fifteen miles, which the boat performed in four hours. This little voyage I took the 29th, and went by recommendation to the Golden Lion; the inns, I again repeat, are as dear as those in England, but I do not think them comparable to ours upon the great roads. The views of the country by the way are not disagreeable, though you have a range of vast turf pits, and the Lake of Haerlem all the way on one side; but the other is much diversified with meadows, which they told me are fed principally with black cattle. The Lake is twelve miles long

long and three broad, lying between Amsterdam, Leyden, and Haerlem; there is a very considerable traffic on it, so that it is finely spread with sails. It yields vast quantities of fish. It is astonishing, that little jealousies between the three great cities near this river should prevent their agreeing in a work so vastly profitable, as draining it, and converting the whole to rich meadow; the water is no where more than eight feet deep, and all of it could be conveyed away at no very large expence, and the whole space kept dry. The Dutch, with whom I conversed on this subject, agreed that the business might very easily be done; but said that Amsterdam, Leyden, and Haerlem, must agree in it.

Haerlem, like all the other cities of Holland, is surrounded with a shew of fortifications; but none that would enable it to hold out three days against an army well provided. The streets are wide and strait, but the houses have nothing to admire in them: there are many canals: the number of inhabitants are reckoned at fifty thousand. The principal church is a very fine structure, in it are three organs; and they shew in the walls cannon balls now sticking, which were shot against it by the Spaniards in the famous

famous siege of 1572. But the objects much the most worthy of notice in this place are the manufactures, and the bleacheries: the principal trade is bleaching linen; vast quantities, which are made in the Provinces, and others from Flanders, and even Silesia, are bleached at Haerlem; whole ship-loads from Scotland, and Ireland, are brought hither for the same purpose. It is the quality of the water which has so great an effect; for many trials have been made in England, Scotland, and Ireland, where Dutch bleachers have been employed, without having the same success. Let it however be remembered, that in proportion to the whiteness of the cloth, such will prove the shortness of the wear; they rot as well as bleach them: this article of nicety should therefore be confined to those cloths that are designed merely for the use of the rich, it is pernicious to others. The charge of freight backwards from Scotland, with that of bleaching, amounts to 10d. a yard, which would be a monstrous addition to the price of any but very fine cloths.

Besides this branch of trade, there are several very considerable manufactories, particularly the weaving of velvet, damasks, sattins, silk stuffs of various sorts, thread, tape, &c. in all which they are famous: great numbers

bers of hands are employed by them; and they told me here, contrary to what I had learned in the other manufacturing towns, that their fabrics had increased for some years, but that their bleaching trade had declined. Weavers, upon an average, earn about five florins and an half a week, which is above nine shillings: I had different accounts of the number of hands employed in all the manufactures; some made them 30,000, others 35,000, and some made them 43,000; but there are many employed by some very considerable breweries, which work for exportation.

From Haerlem to Amsterdam is about eight or nine miles; the boat is two hours and an half going; half way are several large sluices, of an aukward construction, which oblige the passengers to walk about a quarter of a mile, and change boats. The canal runs in an odd situation between the lake of Haerlem and an arm of the sea. May 1st, I entered Amsterdam, and went immediately to private lodgings, which were provided me by a correspondent, to whom I had applied for that purpose, as it was my intention to spend some time in this city, for an opportunity to regard minutely whatever was most worthy of observation.

C H A P. III.

*Amsterdam—Buildings—Remarkable Objects
—Inhabitants—Trade—Wealth, &c.*

AMSTERDAM appears to no great advantage to a stranger on his first coming into it, unless he makes his way through the Heeregracht, or the Keyzergracht streets: that of Haerlem is very long, but the sluices in the canal hurt the effect of it; the two former have also canals in the middle of them, and are very noble streets; but, like most in Holland, are planted with trees. I observed that some of the canals are very broad, and make a fine appearance; but the houses in general are not erected in a grand stile; on the contrary, very many of them disgrace the areas before them: this, though an evil, is in all the cities of Europe, and especially in London. In squares this great city appears to be very deficient; they are few in number, and have nothing in them striking: that called the Dam is the principal,
but

but it is very irregular. It would be graced by the Stadthouse, were it not for a vile old building that disfigures its noble front, and which it is a scandal to the government to leave in its present situation.

But though Amsterdam cannot boast of many fine squares, like several other capital cities, yet it contains some public buildings, that strike the spectator with astonishment at the magnificence to which trade has here attained. I was very desirous of viewing the principal objects in the city to the best advantage, and was fully gratified by the most obliging attention of Mess. Sautyn and Rosevelt, who rank amongst the greatest merchants here, and to whom I brought letters of recommendation; they took every method of rendering my stay agreeable, and conducted me to most of the principal edifices themselves. Their friendly politeness I thus publicly acknowledge with the greatest pleasure.

The building, which is incomparably beyond all others, is the Stadthouse; the front, as given by several authors, for I did not measure it, is 282, the depth is 232, and the height is 116 feet, besides a small cupola; it was begun to be raised in 1648; the expence of the edifice has been variously computed,

with such an amazing difference, as from three hundred thousand pounds, to three millions; the latter must certainly be computed according to the different value of money then and now; but even so, it must be vastly beyond the truth: the former is in all probability much nearer the reality. The front of the building has nothing of taste or elegance in it; it is a heavy pile, which strikes the spectator with that idea which is raised by the grandeur of its magnitude; the general effect being, in my opinion, a much greater error in the architect's taste than the want of a suitable entrance. The inside of the building is finished in a very noble stile, considering the purpose to which it is applied; such as a prison, a bank, the seat of the Courts of Justice, the sessions rooms, guard rooms, &c. The floors, walls, and pillars are in general of marble; and many of the apartments are adorned with very fine paintings by the best of the Flemish masters. The carving and gilding I cannot approve; these are too light and airy ornaments for the purposes to which the whole edifice is applied. In the second story is a great magazine of arms; and over that, great reservoirs of water, with tubes to conduct it into every apartment; and another precaution against fire is, the

the chimneys being lined with copper. I went to the top of the cupola, for a view of the city and neighbouring country, which it gives in great perfection; commanding the whole space built, with the canals, and the immense number of ships in the harbour, altogether forming a very noble prospect.

The bank of Amsterdam, which is the lower apartment, is famous all over the world. The great treasure said to be locked up in the vaults of this house, belonging to the bank, are the sums received in purchase, not of bank stock, but of bank transfer. This is not like that of London, a bank that circulates notes in return for cash; on the contrary it is a bank of deposit: whoever pays money here, has it entered in the bank books, but can never more demand a shilling of it: when he wants to raise money, he offers to sale so much bank credit, which is transferred in a moment, and ever ready to raise any sums upon.

Here a natural question may be stated: What is the use of such a bank? the excellence of a bank of circulation is evident at first sight; by circulating paper they have it in their power to remedy numerous evils, which in certain situations of affairs attend a languid circulation of coin: if money is too scarce, such an institution may be able to make it

plentiful; and another great utility (at least it has been so esteemed in England) is that of issuing large quantities of paper to supply the home demand for a currency, while the precious metals are at liberty to go abroad in whatever method, or on whatever business, the merchants may find advisable, in order to increase their commerce and their fortunes at the same time: but, on the contrary, a bank of deposit is not attended with any one of these conveniences; circulation is much impeded by it. The circulation of a million of guilders is attended with certain advantages in the United Provinces, by animating industry. Suppose this million of guilders is locked up in the bank, it may be said, they will still circulate in the books of the bank: true, they circulate at Amsterdam, but no where else. Thus the establishment of a bank deposit has only the effect of fixing a vast portion of all the trade and wealth of a country in one spot; of which Amsterdam, with having the worst harbour, yet possessing the most trade of any town in Holland, is a pregnant instance. This local advantage of facilitating circulation at one spot, in prejudice of all others, is surely a partial decision in its favour. In a political view, it may be pronounced dangerous to the state. A foreign enemy attacking

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ing a town, or a province, is an evil that can be remedied ; but what if an invader lays siege to the bank ? what ruin and confusion must ensue ? the loss of the Stadthouse may be presumed the loss of the republick. Banks of circulation are open to some accidents, but not a twentieth part of these of deposit.

The treasure in the bank of Amsterdam is an absolute secret to all but those who have the government of it : the value has been computed, or rather guessed at, from twenty to forty millions sterling ; but naming any particular sums, must be at best but wild work. It is, however, a very astonishing system of accumulation, for it is a well known fact, that money once paid and entered in the bank books can never be demanded ; and it is a well known fact, that money is perpetually paid in : here, therefore, seems to be a constant ingress but no egress, consequently a treasure which seems perpetually to increase.*

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* Since the above was written, I have met with a curious account of the operations of this bank, in a late author, which well deserves quoting here. “ Let me suppose a case, which may happen, to wit, that for a certain time, the trade of Amsterdam may demand a larger supply of credit in bank than is necessary upon an average.

Will

The Exchange is a large building, and very well adapted to the use; but it is unornamented, and not equal in architecture to that

Will not this raise the agio? No doubt. (*The agio is the difference between the standard of money received at the bank, and that current.*) If the agio rises so high as to afford a premium upon carrying coin to the bank, upon the footing of their own regulations, this will augment the sum of bank credit, because the money so carried to the bank becomes incorporated with the bank stock; the value is writ in the books of the bank; and when this is done, the coin is locked up for ever.

If then it should happen, that the trade of Amsterdam should afterwards diminish, so as to return to the ordinary standard, will not this overcharge of credit depress the rate of bank money, and sink the agio too much below the par of the intrinsic value of the two currencies?

To these difficulties I answer like one, who being ignorant of facts, which I could never get ascertained by any person in Holland, to whom I had access for information, and which remained hid from most people in the deep *arcana* of Amsterdam politics, must have recourse to conjectures founded upon natural sagacity.

First then, the city of Amsterdam knows, from long experience, the rate of demand for bank money; and it is not to be supposed, that upon any sudden emergency, which may heighten that demand for a time, they should be such novices as to increase the credit upon the books, so far as to run any risk of overstocking the market with it; especially on such occasions, as the deficiency of bank credit might be supplied with coin, constantly to be found in the city of Amsterdam.

Fur-

that of London : the contrivance of numbering the pillars, for the sake of finding a merchant

Further, who will say that there does not reside a power in the managers of this bank to issue coin for the superfluous credit, in case that, in spite of all precautions to prevent it, a redundancy of bank credit should at any time be found upon their books ?

It is very true, that no person having credit in bank can demand coin for such credit ; and as no demand of that sort can ever be made, it is very natural to suppose, that a redundancy of coin and credit can never be purged off.

During my stay in Holland, I was at great pains to discover, but to no purpose, whether ever the bank issued any part of their credit cash upon any such occasions. Every one I conversed with was of opinion, that if ever any coin had been taken from the treasure of the bank, it must have been by authority of the States, for national purposes ; a step conducted with the greatest secrecy, and the matter of fact I found was extremely doubtful. But this is nothing to the present purpose. That the coin may be disposed of, I allow, though I do not believe it is ; but how is the superfluous credit writ in the books to be disposed of ? There lies the difficulty.

The popular opinion is, that coin has been taken out for the service of the state : the opinion of many intelligent men is quite contrary.

I am now to give my opinion, not only as to this point, but upon the main question ; and this not from information, but from conjecture, which I shall humbly submit to the better judgment of my reader.

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merchant the more readily, is a very convenient one, and well deserves imitation.

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My opinion then is. First, That every shilling written in the books of the bank is actually locked up in coin, in the bank repositories.

Secondly, That although by the regulations of the bank no coin can be issued to any persons who demands it, in consequence of his credit in bank; yet I have not the least doubt, but that both the credit written in the books of the bank, and the cash in their repositories, which balances it, may suffer alternate augmentations and diminutions, according to the greater or less demand for bank money. If I can prove this, all difficulties will be removed.

My reasons for being of this opinion are: First, From principles I must conclude, that if upon any occasion whatever, even when the smallest demand for bank money, and the greatest demand for coin takes place, there was an impossibility of producing the least diminution of bank credit, or of procuring any supply of the metals from the bank, the consequence certainly would be felt by an extraordinary fall of bank money; or, which is the same thing in other words, by an extraordinary rise in the value of the metals, when compared with bank money.

Now this is a case which never happens. Variations upon the rate ofagio of two or three per cent, perhaps more, are frequent and familiar. The demands of trade for coin or credit are so fluctuating, that such variations are unavoidable; but was there an overcharge of bank credit, which no power could diminish, that overcharge would quickly be perceived; because the fluctuations of
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The Admiralty is the next public edifice that demands attention; the size of it and

the agio would entirely cease, as the balance of a scale nearly in equilibrio ceases from a total overcharge on one side.

Second, My second reason is founded upon a matter of fact, which I must now apply.

There are upon the square, before the Town-house of Amsterdam (the Place de Dam) between ten and eleven in the morning, a number of cashiers, whose business it is to buy bank credit for current coin. They bargain with all those who have occasion either to buy or sell; and according to the demand for specie, or bank credit, the agio rises or sinks: and as these cashiers must constantly gain, whether they furnish bank credit or current coin, since they are never the demanders in either operation, it is commonly found that there is in their favour about $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent, or perhaps $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent, according to the revolutions in the demand: that is to say, one who would first buy specie and then sell it, would lose $\frac{1}{8}$ or perhaps $\frac{1}{16}$ upon this operation.

It is a matter of fact, that the bank lends both coin and credit to the brokers, cashiers, or lombards, who are constantly found on the Place de Dam.

Whenever, therefore, the bank finds that agio falls too low, with respect to the coin; and when, in consequence of that, the demand for coin increases, then they lend coin out of their repositories to the brokers; and when it rises they lend credit.

This coin the bankers dispose of to those who have bank credit, and who want to convert it into coin. They sell the coin for bank credit; the purchaser writes off

and the environs, containing the Arsenal,
and the docks for building and rigging
ships,

off the transfer in favour of the broker, and he again repays the value of the coin to the bank, by transferring the credit he obtained for the coin in favour of the bank.

This done, the bank may expunge this credit from their books; by which means their deposit of coin is diminished, and also the sum of credit which was found superfluous.

If, on the other hand, the circulation of the trade of the city should in a short time afterwards begin to increase, those who have coin, which, in that case, would not so well serve the uses of circulation as the bank credit, come with it to the brokers, who sell them bank credit for it: this coin the brokers deliver to the bank, which writes off the credit lent to the broker, in favour of him who has paid his coin for it.

This is, as I can guess, the nature of the circulation of the coin in the bank of Amsterdam.

It is a curious method of preserving an exact proportion between the coin in deposit, the credit written in their books of transfer, and the demand for bank money.

From this I conclude, that the treasure of the bank of Amsterdam is not near so great as some authors, from mere conjecture, have asserted.

The author of the Essay on Commerce reckons it at four millions of guilders; and the Amsterdam edition carries in the margin a correction, which gives us to understand, that it amounts to between eight and nine hundred millions. Davenant esteems it at 36 millions sterling. Mr. Megens, an author of great judgment and sagacity, esteems this treasure at no more than 60 millions of guilders, or about 5,500,000 l. sterling; a sum, says he,

ships is very considerable. It consists of three sides of a square; the front being 220 feet long, and the wings the same; in the midst is the yard for building. The arms and stores belonging to the ships are kept in the Arsenal, in very great order. The ground floor is filled with cannon balls; the second, contains the arms and cordage; the third, their sails, pullies, flags, &c. Besides these, here are many curiosities of the naval kind, which are worth viewing. The dock is 508 feet long; and contiguous to it are the houses for lodging the ship carpenters, &c. The order in which every thing is kept and conducted throughout all the departments, cannot fail of striking every one. I observed very few men of war, but there are sometimes 50 sail and more laid up here. The following is the latest account that has been published of the state of the Dutch navy; but as it was done in Holland, I know not the exact

he, wherewith great things may be done. Universal Merchant, sect. 61. I agree intirely with him, that for the ready money demands of the trade of Amsterdam, that sum constantly in circulation may go a great length."

An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Economy, vol. 2, p. 299. By Sir James Stewart.

exact dependance to be placed in it. “Near seventy men of war at Amsterdam, eight at Helvoetsluys, eight at Vlissingen, three at Terveer in Zeeland, and fifteen at Hoorn in North Holland, and Harlingen in Friesland. They have, besides these, fourteen or fifteen sail at sea on convoys; in all, about 118 sail of the line, besides galleys, &c. of which more than half are in good condition and fit for service,”—Upon this is added a note.—

“This true account of the present state of the navy may remove the vulgar error, that that the naval strength of the republic is now very inconsiderable. The Dutch are too wise a people to let their navy go to ruin, or be reduced even to a low condition in times of the most profound peace.”

I made all the enquiries that were possible into the truth of these assertions; the passage itself is very suspiciously worded, near 70 sail at Amsterdam, is afterwards counted for 70; they are called first men of war; afterwards they are made men of war of the line; more than half in a good condition; is it meant half the whole, or only half the galleys? My intelligence has not been complete; but from the best I could gain, I apprehend this account to be a fiction. Many very sensible men, with whom I conversed, much

much lamented the low state of their navy; and said, that the condition of their ships was worse than the deficiency of the number; adding, that it would be no easy matter to fit out, on a sudden emergency, even five and twenty sail of the line, in thorough order, and ready for service: one in the company observed, however, that this neglect of the fleet was not of such bad consequence as in some other countries, because the number of sailors, maintained by their trade, was so great, that nothing but money could at any time be wanting to revive their navy; large magazines of timber could presently be laid up, and all other requisites had in the greatest plenty; that he should apprehend two years notice sufficient to revive the Dutch navy in all its splendour, provided money was not wanting.

The East India House, and Arsenal, are great buildings, which much deserve viewing. In the former, the company hold their meetings; and have very considerable magazines of all sorts of India goods. The Arsenal is 2000 feet square every way; it contains docks for building the ships, and warehouses and stores for completely rigging them, all in excellent order. They have magazines of all sorts of naval stores; in one they have many

many pieces of heavy artillery, and in another more than six hundred large anchors ready for use. The two rope walks are 18000 feet long.

These are the principal public buildings in this city; but I should observe, that others, not of this consequence, will attract the attention of the traveller; such as the works of the harbout, the sluices, the bastions, with each a windmill, several bridges, &c. As to Hospitals, there are a vast number of them, but the architecture of the edifices is nothing; it is, however, highly worthy of observation, that all the poor of Amsterdam (and indeed of all the Provinces) are maintained by charity or public foundations, there being no poor's tax in any country in Europe, except England: the same funds support all the Hospitals, in which are above twenty thousand souls.

At great numbers of houses, and at all public ones, or that in which any public business is transacted, there are poor's-boxes, in which it is very indecent not to put something on all sales, auctions, considerable bargains, &c. which are collected and kept by the treasurers of the poor, called here the poor's deacons: these also appoint certain persons to go through the city for alms, on certain

certain festivals, all which are applied to the same use: the theatres, and all public shews and spectacles of whatever kind, pay a third or an half of all their gains to the same end: these means do not always answer the amount that is necessary, and in such case the government grants the remainder.

In all the towns of Holland they make excellent provision to force the idle to work. The house of correction is called a Rasp-House, in which they shut up the idle poor, that can work and maintain themselves, but will not. The employment they give them, is that of sawing and rasping Brazil wood; in which, if they are not expeditious, they are severely beaten: for offenders, particularly the lazy, they have an admirable contrivance; it is a cellar with a pump, into which they let water, so proportioned to the strength of the person, that he shall be able, with infinite labour, in pumping it out, to save himself from drowning; which fate they are by law to suffer, if they do not escape it by this work; for those, whose idleness is carried to an incorrigible length, this performance is excellently adapted. I was informed also, that these prisons are used for young men, whose debaucheries or squandering dispositions threaten to ruin their healths or for-

tunes, being put in here by their fathers or other relations: I thought this very strange, and put several questions concerning the extent of the power thus assumed, and what degrees of offence were to meet with this punishment, but could get no satisfactory account; nor do I apprehend it is the result of written laws, so much as antient custom: women sometimes put their husbands in for extravagance.

As to churches in Amsterdam, the only one worthy of much attention is the new one, dedicated to St. Catharine; the ornamental parts of which are finished in a most high manner. The pulpit is carved in the richest stile; the chancel is parted off by a railing of Corinthian brass; the windows are finely painted; the organ is the best in the Low Countries, and they say here, in the world: it has a row of pipes designed to counterfeit a chorus of voices, but it performs it very badly; there are fifty two whole, besides half stops, with two rows of keys for the feet, and three rows for the hands. The monuments erected to Van Ruyter and Van Galen are worth seeing. This edifice, however, is not finished, though begun more than an hundred years ago; the steeple was designed to be much higher; more than 6000 piles

piles were driven into the ground in one hundred feet square, as a foundation for it, but still they thought the bogginess of the ground not sufficiently remedied for supporting so vast a weight as this steeple would be if it was finished.

The manufactures carried on in this city are more numerous and considerable, than any other place in the Seven Provinces: they weave all sorts of cloths, woollens, stuffs, and silk, gold and silver silks, ribbons, tapestry, linen in large quantities, &c. all sorts of fabrics in leather, with many in ivory and metals: they have a vast variety of mills for sawing, polishing, &c. most bodies. Their sail-cloth, and paper manufactories, are very considerable, and the printing of books should not be forgotten: here are great numbers of bookfellers, who, it is thought, employ twice the presses that work at London: these books are exported to England, and some to the southern parts of Europe, but vast numbers to all parts of Germany, Denmark, and the North.

Amsterdam contains near three hundred thousand inhabitants.

The air of this city is so bad and foggy, that I can hardly believe the assertions of those who aver it to be healthy: it is surrounded entirely by the sea and marshes;

the canals are very numerous, and not always free from noxious exhalations: the cleanliness indeed of the inhabitants is carried to as great a degree as any where else, but this by no means remedies the evil; for that eternal washing must add to the damp, which are otherwise so striking in this country: the wholesomest part of their cleanliness is that exerted in keeping their canals clean; but I must remark, that I saw no small neglects of this most essential object.

They were formerly very attentive to have all carriages on sledges, and drawn by only one horse; this was certainly a wise precaution, considering that the whole city is on a foundation purely artificial, on piles; but this discipline is much relaxed, for I observed very many coaches on wheels: it is true, they pay a considerable tax, which, as the number of coaches increased, has been raised once or twice, and amounts now to about seven pounds sterling a year; but still as luxury increases, coaches on wheels increase, and the higher they are taxed, some sensible men here reckon, the more they would be.

The public income of Amsterdam, raised by taxes, and some public buildings, &c. amount to one million sterling, per annum: there have lately been some conferences on the

the subject of raising them ; and, it is said, they will amount to one million two hundred thousand pounds in five years, without burthening the lower classes more than at present.

Respecting trade, this is the grand emporium, not only of the United Provinces, but the center of all the commerce of Europe ; for a general correspondence it much exceeds London ; but the general value and amount of London's trade much exceeds that of Amsterdam. Two thousand sail of ships annually enter this port, which must form a vast commerce. I do not, at present, enlarge on the different branches of the great trade, because, in future chapters, I shall give an account of the trade of Holland, particularly respecting its present state.

I have been very fortunate in my quarters at Amsterdam, being recommended to a private family in trade for lodgings : I dined for some days either at an ordinary, where I paid to the amount of ten shillings for my dinner, or at some merchants houses to whom I was recommended, but afterwards I agreed to board with the family : they lived much better than I should have supposed any people would do who let lodgings : the dinners were excellent, and dressed in the French

stile ; but I paid twenty florins (at 1s. 8d.) a week for lodgings, and 17 more for board, that is, for self and man: this would be very dear in London ; but I could not have boarded and had handsome lodgings in London at all ; this is owing to the difference of customs between the two cities.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Dutch East India Company.

THE Dutch India Company, I believe, is, without exception, the most considerable trading establishment that ever appeared in the world: The conquests of the Portuguese in the Indies, were atchieved under the command and power of the crown, and they were extended to an amazing degree; but with all the regal attention, they never equalled the dominion which the Dutch have gained under the direction of a private trading Company; in trade, their inferiority was greater still, and in duration no comparison can be admitted.

We are not to wonder at the great superiority of this Company over all others; for succeeding to most of the Portuguese acquisitions, on the downfall of their power in the East, they laid such a foundation of future power for themselves, that no other Company ever had any thing like such auspicious beginnings. Add to this, it was first in priority, and

enjoyed these noble advantages without rivals ; France had not dreamt of trade at all ; and England was without an East India Company, or an East India trade. Was a revolution to happen now in those countries, similar to that of the Portuguese power, all the trading nations of Europe, who have commerce in the Indies, would divide the spoil between them ; but in the case of which we are now treating, the Dutch came in for the whole.

Their acquisitions were so extensive, and, at the same time so very important, that the Company found it absolutely necessary to their security to keep up a very strong force by sea and land in the Indies ; this has given rise to the very magnificent descriptions we have had of the great armies, navies, and state of the Governor General at Batavia : Some of these circumstances are exaggerated, but many of them appear to be very true. The number of islands, some of them the largest in the world, which are in their possession or in their power, make it necessary that great fleets, and considerable land forces, should be in readiness at Batavia, and other settlements, in order to protect and defend such numerous coasts and countries.

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But notwithstanding advantages, superior to those of any other country in the Indies, this Company has been long on the decline; this has been principally owing to the establishment of so many others; the English have robbed them more than any other country; France from 1720 to 1740 had a Company that flourished so greatly, as to prevent all importation from Holland, except spices; and even exported much to Spain, Germany, and Italy. Denmark and Sweden, have between them supplied their respective inhabitants; so that the Dutch Company has not the benefit of the markets which she once totally supplied; this must, in the nature of things, make a wonderful alteration in its affairs. But there are other reasons for this declension, which are touched upon with some other very curious particulars, in an account of the present state of their trade, given in by one of the Governors General; but as the paper never appeared in the English language, I shall take some extracts from it, which will make the reader acquainted with several particulars that deserve attention.

“Without contradiction, the East India Company of Holland is not in so flourishing a state as it was formerly; we may for this instance

instance several direct and indirect causes, which may be reduced to three principal ones. First, the too great extent of their possessions in the Indies, which renders the administration less easy and more subject to inconveniencies. Secondly, to the excessive abundance of the productions of the East, and consequently the diminution of their price in Europe. Lastly, the relaxation of zeal and attention in the part of those employed by the Company, for want of properly recompensing the merit of some, and punishing the misdemeanors of others. The first of these causes is too evident to render any proofs necessary. We know how weak the origin of the Company was, to what a degree of power it increased within the space of half a century; and how, at all succeeding times, an aggrandizement of states, and territories too vast came to it. The second cause can only be imputed to all the maritime nations of Europe, who, animated by the example of this Company, have applied themselves, since the peace of Utrecht, to navigation and commerce; insomuch, that after reckoning the freight, the interest of money, and the risks of the sea, there is scarcely any benefit results from most of the articles in this traffic, that are become common; to this
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we must join a cultivation constantly carried on in different colonies, which has rendered so many productions much less rare, and greatly cheaper, than they were many years ago. A natural consequence of the third cause is, that the Company's officers, prevented in many cases from making their fortunes, and from recompensing themselves in the manner which they think their due, have, instead of seeking with emulation to advance the interests of the Company, neglected all the opportunities, and substituted their own private interests for the public glory. We suppress other particulars, of which the detail would be odious. It is only to be wished, that we may be able to indicate the most easy and efficacious means for remedying these evils. This is the object which we propose in the course of these observations, and which may be divided into three principal parts: that is to say, the navigation, commerce, and government of the Company.

I

The Navigation of the Company.

THE navigation to the Indies is the principle of the establishment of the Company,
and

and which ought to be considered, not only as a society of merchants, but more still as a commercial power. Considered under these two lights we may conceive the necessity of the ships being proper for carrying good cargoes, and not less capable of defending themselves than attacking others in case of need. Nevertheless it is easy to discover, that the construction of most part of their fleets has many obstacles in the way of fulfilling these ends, or even equalling the perfections of foreign ships employed in the same trade.

By a serious attention to this defect, they might have escaped many evils, which they have a long time experienced, but principally of late years; evils which, besides those flowing from the ill-construction of their ships, have not a little contributed to the incapacity of the persons to whom they have been committed.

Naval architecture is not like many other sciences, subject to suppositions; it has its principles and its rules. All depends on giving the building an equal and methodical structure. It will not suffice to lengthen them some feet; for if we mistake in the proportions of the general dimensions, the fault must be irreparable. They reject those of 160 feet, under pretence that they draw too much

much water for certain ports ; and we remark, that other people enter those ports with ships greater than theirs ; still they nevertheless construct them from 135 to 150, or from 130 to 145. Every specie is good and proper for the service of the Company, provided that the largeness and depth be answerable to the length.

No objection holds against experience. If the entry of the ports is practicable for the ships of foreigners, if the banks of Bengal are not to them a hindrance, if other ships than those of the Company navigate without risk at Canton, and the same throughout China ; what difficulty is there in their imitating other people, by building such ships as they do, and which may be loaded and unloaded in all the ports ? An essay of a few years would undoubtedly decide the success, to the advantage of their commerce and navigation, not only in the Indies but in Europe itself ; under the supposition of a better conduct with relation to the manœuvres of them.

In equipping the ships, it is also necessary that they regulate themselves by the example of other nations, who, with 50 or 60 men, do more than the Company with an hundred. By following the models proposed, the expences

pences would not exceed the common cost ; and without giving into any prejudices, the ships would be incomparably better, and the transport of merchandize much more prompt. There would also result from it, an augmentation of the naval forces of the Company, of which the most formidable squadron might be equipped in the Indies, but not merely for the defensive. The interloper, the Apollo, is a proof of this, among many others ; this ship, on its return to Europe, escaped through the Straits of Sincapour, by the force of sailing, in spite of the efforts of five of the most considerable cruziers of the Company.

Those which they have are more often employed in commerce than their real business ; it follows therefore, that it is not always the interest of the Company to have them equipped at once ; it would suffice to have them armed according to the exigence of the case.

One hundred and twenty men compose the ordinary crew of the largest ships of the Company in voyages back ; in smaller ships, the number is about 100.

II.

The Navigation in the Indies.

THE passage from Europe to the Cape, is too long for the number of men which the Company annually embarks to arrive in health. In truth, the Chinese ships of the English, that have hardly half the number, go from their ports, without touching at the Cape, directly by the Straits of Sunda; but they cannot bring them in comparison with ours. It is to be wished that the Company had some small establishment on this side the Equator, for the refreshment of the ships. They might supply this defect by being allowed to put into St. Jago; where, after having refreshed, they might continue their route to the Cape: The distance and the expence would be very trifling.

III.

The Navigation from the Indies to Holland.

WE cannot but be astonished, that the ships of the Company are shipwrecked in their return from the Indies, when those of other nations arrive safe in port. These evils

evils are owing to two causes ; one, the want of agility in the manœuvre ; and the other, their being embarrassed with the merchandize of individuals.

If it was possible to permit them to fill their empty casks at St. Helena, and to provide live provision and pasturage, it would contribute much to the health of the crew, and the preservation of the cattle. Perhaps the Isle of Ascension, which ought to be equally well known, might be as proper as the first. It is certain, that one or the other of these places of refreshment would ease many of the ships in their return, in traversing so long a voyage as from the Cape to Holland. Their holds being less taken up with casks and provisions, would contain a much greater quantity of merchandize.

I shall here present two other questions, not directly regarding the Indies. One, if in return, all the fleet ought to attend one bad sailor ? The other, if it is absolutely necessary that the Company's ships should make the tour of the North of Scotland and Ireland, instead of entering the Channel, which would abridge the course more than a month ?

IV.

The Commerce of the Company in general.

IT is requisite that commerce should either be perfectly free, or entirely constrained. The mixed state is subject to so many inconveniences, that it becomes more mischievous than advantageous. We cannot here give the shackles, or prescribe the bounds which depend not upon us alone: such is the nature of that of the Company throughout the Indies, excepting the particular produce of the colonies, as spices, and other commodities, whereof they alone are in possession; it is thus with the coffee of Java, and in part with the pepper; but principally the commerce of China. By permitting an entry in the river of Canton, although only to trade, the Chinese rendered the Company its exclusive grant of navigating there alone, which was more prejudicial than any thing to foreign nations. If she cannot at present equal them, it is a proof that they have already gained much ground, and that it will not be difficult for them to advance.

Her commerce in the West of the Indies is in yet a worse state. She has the name of trafficking, while others have the effect: re-

serving the spiceries, and the copper of Japan in ingots, two articles into which her rivals cannot break. All that she carries on, on this side, will not bear any comparison with the lucrative trades of the English and French; for, one of her ships, which enters the Ganges, there are not less than five of those nations; and the city of Surat, so famous for its commerce, receiving millions, touch nothing of the Dutch. Mocha, Jeda, Bassora, all Persia, and the coast between the Persian Gulph, and the river Indus, ought to be in the last surprise, at those amazing quantities of merchandize, in which they trade every year, without seeing more than the arrival of a single ship of the Company half loaded, and whereof the cargo is not worth more than an hundred thousand florins.

It is a long time since their competitors have been seen granting to individuals, passports, and letters of protection, under their colours, and of which the returns are well worth these favours. The Dutch, on the contrary, are unmoved spectators of this management, and are contented with their navigation of Batavia in right, and of some other ports, after having abandoned those of Siam, Pegu, Arracan, Achin, and others, which

which foreigners, doubtless, would not daily frequent if they did not find their benefit in it?

But what are the articles essential and most useful to the Company? Without contradiction, the spices, and copper in ingots. The remainder, as pewter, lead, vermilion, quicksilver, camphire, &c. of which the trade is in common with other nations, and where of there are generally a good market, it is not any great matter.

But to return to these quarters that limit themselves in sending to Europe stuffs, pepper, salt petre, and other minutiae of less value: as to the stuffs and opium on the Western coasts of Samatra, the Company has only the commerce of the last article, from Baros to the point of Indrapora; and the same in the Western Provinces, in a part of the Malaccas, of Jambi, Palembang, and Timor. The returning of opium would also be left, if it was not advantageous to Batavia; but where is its commerce of calicoes in the comptoirs under its dependence, if we except those which are made along the West coast of Sumatra?

The traffic of the Western comptoirs is so pitiful, that the article of sugars will not suffice for returning what they cost the Com-
G' 2 pany,

pany, in sending them to Surat, Malabar, Coromandel, Mocha, or Persia; it will not defray the expences of the establishments, which they maintain, and of the ships. The profits have not answered the expences for many years. It is in vain to alledge, that this expence is submitted to as necessary for enjoying the important benefit of the spices, and the copper; these two articles do principally regard the Coromandel coast; and the being in possession of them, does credit to the government.

When the Company reduces its commerce to these two articles, would she not lose for them the benefit of the rest; and how many expences will she save by the restriction? Instead of maintaining in a number of places, a director and his suite, who form a council, it would suffice, that one was employed of a certain rank, with two assistants. This saving would retrench the expences one half.

In the general reform of the actual system of the Company, and particularly its commerce in the West, we do not comprehend the isle of Ceylon, although the most considerable, and the comptoir, the most strong of that part, not only from its productions of cinnamon, but because that is the only colony which the Company enjoys exclusively,

clusively, and may continue to enjoy as mistress. In these respects, which are very different from other establishments, she ought to be distinguished, by regulating her conduct upon the actual circumstances of commerce in those quarters, which change from time to time.

All that remains of Bengal, the Coromandel, the Western coast of Sumatra, Malabar, Surat, Persia, and the Red Sea, the Company ought to reserve with the trade of spices and copper in ingots; taking nothing in return but what is proper for Europe; and making Batavia the center of a free commerce, open to all the rest. By this, that city would become a redoubted rival to their competitors; and by means of moderate imports, its commerce would procure the Company real advantages, instead of the benefit she at present finds in such equivocal accounts.

V.

Of the Commerce of China.

THE commerce between Batavia and China, is very different from that which is made directly with Europe. The one cannot be too much encouraged, nor too much managed; the other, although important, is

much declined by the great number of foreign ships, which, through emulation of one another, frequent the ports of that empire. It must also be considered, that the ships of the Company, which go from Batavia to traffic with China, and from whence they return to Holland, contribute to make a commerce languish already so divided. Not that they should give it up; it is requisite to continue it, but with moderation. When things have changed their face at Batavia, one single ship would suffice for this traffic. Tea constitutes the most considerable branch of commerce between China and Europe: Without this article the ships could not return half loaded; the rest, not being important enough for compensating the expences of the freight, no person would undertake it.

This production also makes the principal object of the commerce between Batavia and China; for although the junks kept for the use of the colonies, for porcelane, potteries, tobacco, paper, and an hundred other minutiae, the tea is always the merchandize which makes the best return for their expences and care. The quantity, which comes annually by Batavia to Holland, whether on board the Company's ships, or those of individuals, is actually known only to the merchants.

merchants. It is probable that the proposed arrangements would prevent, on the side of individuals, the transport of that production, but it would also facilitate the importation to Batavia; which would at once make the trade of the junks decline.

It may be made a question, whether it is for the interest of the Company, that they should buy all the tea, which the Chinese bring to Batavia? The reasons for and against it are equally solid. Nevertheless it is certain, that so considerable a purchase would cause an embarrassment and an interruption in the traffic of the junks; the more the Chinese are subject to the sales of the Company, the more they are masters of the sale of their tea; after inspection, proof and estimation made, besides the formalities which decide if the Company retains it for her account or not. In case she contents herself with adhering to the antient custom, and loads a ship with tea, received on the return of the supercargoes from China; she need not then mix in that commerce more than for the collection of her duties, but leave to the proprietors the liberty of disposing of their merchandize as they like, which would be much more simple, and more advantageous.

Certainly this proposition is of consequence, especially if we consider that there come every year into the United Provinces more than three millions of pounds of tea, not comprized in the accounts of the Company, which reaps no profit from a transport so constant, and so prodigious; instead of which, this commerce ought to be made at the same time lucrative to them, and advantageous to individuals. A ship loaded with tea, but with a reserved fund, will contain about 600,000 pounds; which sold, will, one with another, yield 20 sols, or 240,000 florins to the Company. The expences of embarking it at Batavia, which is valued at two per cent, on the sale; and which, with the expence of the voyage to Europe, does not exceed the sum of 60,000 florins: therefore the Company profits about 200,000, without other disbursements or risks than that of building, &c. This amounts to a million in five ships, besides 200,000 florins profit, on the silver in making the return.

VI.

Of the Commerce of the Company, relative to other articles.

THE trade of pepper belongs exclusively to the Company, in virtue of its treaties with the Princes of the country. She ought to preserve this trade with the greatest care, and maintain this acquisition with dignity, agreeable to her power, so very considerable in those quarters. It is the same at Bantam and Palemburgh, and also on the greatest part of the coast of Malabar. We know, that the direction of this commerce is subject to very great abuses; it is particularly necessary to ordain, that the pepper, which the Company appropriates, be ready for sale before the departure of the junks.

Another part of their commerce, which in spite of its declension, for many years, ought also to be preserved, and which is that of Japan. The re-establishment of the affairs of that comptoir depend, only upon integrity and vigilance.

It has been along time agitated, both in Holland, and in the Indies, whether the navigation of individuals, between the Eastern Provinces and Batavia, was favourable or not
to

to the Company. Without deciding absolutely upon this point, we may remark, that the abolition of this privilege would be very hard upon the poorer communities of those quarters, which furnish the maintenance of that capital; besides, nothing would be gained by it; for, by oppressing the inhabitants of Amboina and Banda, they would cut off the resource, and favour the fraud and malversation in the delivery of the cloves, (of which the commerce is so precious to the Company), and would become more chargeable than advantageous. There is no occasion to prohibit to individuals the navigation of Macassar and Amboina, because this province is the grainery of rice for those quarters; and for the same reason respecting the people of Batavia, whose inhabitants are accustomed to bring the oils of the Gulph of Cajili; also slaves, and many other smaller articles.

As to the commerce of the Philippines, or Manilla, their capital, has too great a connection with that of the Company to be passed over in silence. On one side, these islands receive annually, by the register-ship, the stuffs of the Indies, and other merchandize, which they are in want of: on the other, they are provided with cinnamon, which is
much

much used. This last commerce regards the Company; the other, although more important, carries itself on without her participation, by the way of Surat, Bombay, Porto Novo, Madras, Bengal, and by the Strait of Malacca to the Philippines. For a number of years, this commerce of individuals, which is fraudulent, and contrary to antient orders, has been carried on under the name of the Armenians, &c. By favour of this toleration, it has been so established, that it would be difficult at present to throw any obstacle in the way of it, without ruining that of Batavia with those quarters, which would by no means be practicable. It is nevertheless certain, that the Philippines ought to be an object of the Company's attention, who has much interest in observing well all these neighbouring islands.

Coffee has been for a long time one of the best articles in which the Company trades; at present, it seems rather to fail; so susceptible of vicissitudes is all commerce: pepper, on the contrary, which has been overcharged, possesses a sale so considerable in Europe, that there is no fear of a superfluity: with coffee they can do no better than accommodate themselves to the times.

Sugar

Sugar is another article much lower than it was heretofore. Upon strong complaints coming from Batavia, the regency employed itself in seeking the causes of the decrease. In 1740, in pursuance of some advice offered them, new regulations were made; but the event was so far from answering, that less was made by it than before. This is too important a branch of commerce to be given up, and it serves at present to fill up the ships when in want of saltpetre.

VII.

Of the Possessions, Colonies, and Establishments of the Company.

THERE is a distinction to be made between the several territories in the Indies, subject to the Company, and those where they have only the privilege or the custom of navigating with views of commerce. The first requires something more majestic than an establishment; the second, demands only factories for the traffic, and magazines for the merchandize. The first of these classes comprehends Jacatra, Ceylon, Amboina, the isles of Banda, part of Macassar, and in some respect, the Malabar. The second contains most of the places situated in the Western
Parts

Parts of the Indiës, as Bengal, Coromandel, Surat, Persia, and Mocha. The western coast of Sumatra belongs not entirely to them; and Malacca is held rather as a frontier, which might be abandoned were it not for the colonies or settlements of commerce. Ternate and Macassar cover the two coasts of the isles from which they draw the spices, and therefore ought to be in a state of defence: they might also sub-divide these classes into places where they reside only for cultivating the friendship of the Indian Princes, as at Palembang, Jamba, the comptoirs of Java and Bantam.

When we consider under these distinctions, these different countries, their extent and their distance, we shall be obliged to agree, that the Company has pushed a little too far its commerce and its navigation; and that, when she reduces herself to narrower bounds, she will save great and superfluous expences, and would not gain less treasure.

VIII.

Of the Colonies of Ceylon and the Spice-Islands.

Besides the kingdom of Jacatra, Macassar, and a part of Ternate, the company possesses the property of Ceylon, Amboina, and Banda. There is in the last of these isles no other
power,

power; but although we find many princes in that of Amboyna, she is not the less acknowledged sovereign of the extent of its territory which belongs to her. These domains are those which are justly called by the title of the Dutch colonies, and where the parade, worthy of majesty, is absolutely necessary. The fruits which the Company draw from them, recompence them largely for the expence, and insure them the better the peaceable possession of these territories, which are the only resource of the Company. It is, nevertheless true, that their commerce is declined, but there are means of repairing the loss, or at least of preventing the further decline of it.

The Spice-Islands require to be kept in a good state of defence, and the colonies to be well provided for. Those, who have been upon the spot, know how much they have neglected these articles. Banda is strong by its situation and its castles; Amboina, on the contrary, is so weak, that although they have known, for more than an age, the bad state of its fortifications, they have never dreamt of putting them in order. The conjunctures will not always permit the execution of enterprizes so expensive; but, if they had every year done a little, the work would long ago

ago have been finished. The declension of the colony of Ambionna, is perceptible in the diminution of the crops of cloves, which are the principal product of that island, and the most material part of the public revenue. It is more than fifteen years that they have not only permitted, but even ordained new plantations; without which, in abundance, the want would not be removed. It is the fault of those oppressors employed in the service of the Company, who, for a long time, have devoured every thing for their own subsistence, and who, not content with a legal benefit, tread every thing under foot, till the inhabitants, are disgusted with their labours, of which they see all the advantages pass to other hands.

The only means that we know of redressing the affairs of the Molucca Islands, considered as a private colony of the Company, are to recommend the culture of the lands in Manado, and also in the other neighbouring isles, and to augment the purchase of gold dust, if it be possible, in order, thereby, to render more supportable the expence occasioned by this frontier.

IX.

Batavia and Jacatra.

IT is certainly for the glory of the Company, to interest herself in the splendor and aggrandizement of Batavia; this has been universally acknowledged, as true in all times, from the making that city the basis of her establishment in the East-Indies, and the arrangements that have been taken in consequence, have been accompanied with a success so rapid and so striking, that at present this capital may be named the Queen of the East, as well for the number of its inhabitants, as with respect to its magnificence. The revenues which the Company draws from that colony, and its dominions, in the kingdom of Jacatra, are estimated at one million of florins; but they must be more than that, if we comprehend the duties on the sale of merchandise, those upon the fishery, and many others, which have been ceded for the erection and maintenance of a privy council.

We have said, and we repeat it, that if the Company would reserve the commerce of the Indies with Europe, and in the Indies, the returns from the comptoirs to the West; if she would collect in the capital, the two principal

cipal articles of the commerce of the East, which are the spices and the copper of Japan in ingots: if with these she was to reduce her ordinary expences to a reasonable mediocrity; if she took care to provide her colonies with all the necessaries for drawing from them the fruits required; if, in fine, she granted to each the liberty of navigation and traffic, with an exception to the East of Batavia, it is not to be doubted, but that city would become, in a short time, the center of commerce, and the source of a fruitful opulence; it would be the retirement of rich men, who would fix themselves there by choice, as a retreat, or with design of disposing of their fortunes to the best account. They ought to be inspired with the utmost emulation, to neglect nothing that may render life easy and agreeable, particularly by abundance, and an uniform price of commodities.

Numbers of families, who have been spread through divers territories in the Indies, prefer living in this capital, where there reigns more than any where else, abundance, repose, and security, under the protection of the Company. The Chinese have begun to cultivate the lands, which is a forerunner, to them, of a perfect and extended culture. The lands

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of Preanger, situated about a day's journey and half from Batavia, produce, although they are not the best, and in spite of the little care that has been hitherto taken of them, pease, beans, cabbages, and other legumes. What might not be gained from the lands of Java, the finest and most fertile in the world, if they were cultivated as they ought !

We know by experience, that those of the Dutch nation are not proper for labour: whether from vanity or idleness they disdain this sort, and love better to live in indigent idleness. For which reason, it would be proper to employ, in agriculture, the Saltzburgh countrymen, the Palatines, or others, who might embark successively, ten or more, on board every ship the Company sends. In a few years there would then be labourers enough for cultivating the lands, and improving the new ones. No person can doubt that these men would find in the Indies an honest subsistence, from taking a very little care about it: for without burthening themselves with the coffee of the Company, nor exhausting the country by plantations of sugar, which ought to be left to the Chinese, the single article of pepper might furnish the wants of more than a thousand. It would be right for them, during
the

the five first years, to advance an hundred crowns, to place them in a state of procuring the necessary utensils for cultivation, that they might be able to subsist, during the time of getting their lands in order. The reimbursement of these sums should be made as soon as their circumstances would permit."

The extracts which I have here given of this memoir, and which was written by one of the Governor Generals of the East Indies, contain many very curious particulars. They let us into several important circumstances attending that famous Company, which are no where else to be met with: it appears evidently that there is much shew in the immensity of the commerce they carry on; and those, who are so eager to rival the Dutch in the Indies, ought certainly to make a strong distinction between the trades there carried on: we find that it would be for the advantage of the Company, to lay open all the commerce of the East to their own subjects, except that of spice, and copper of Japan; the other branches add much to their expences, but not proportionably to their profit. These are objects which it much behoves any other nation to get a share in, though none have a great reason to hope it,

except the Spaniards; their being possessed of the Phillippines might render them terrible rivals of the Dutch; for in those islands the product of cinnamon is common, and, in all probability, nutmegs and cloves might also be cultivated with equal success; but these advantages are in the hands of so lazy and unenterprizing a people, that the Dutch have little reason to fear any thing they will do.

But a circumstance of great moment in this memoir, is the clear proof we have in it, of the decline in their East India affairs. Whether or not the author is exactly right in all his observations on this head is not of much importance; but the general fact on which he grounds them, the decline of trade, is extremely evident. Now it is very observable, that this decline has taken place in the midst of general peace, without any accidents or sudden changes that could affect the commerce; this gives one no slight reason to conclude, that the author is not right in his proposals of abandoning that part of the traffic, which does not equal the rest, merely with a view to contract expences: the real fact is, that great success in all trades, in all branches of general commerce, is ever found to attend an high spirited and enterprizing period; times in which great undertakings
are

are common, and in which trade and war go hand in hand: the foundation and progress of the Dutch republic itself is a striking proof of this; and that of their East India Company is equally to be produced as a similar instance. While the spirit of enterprize and conquest lasted, the trade of the Company flourished; but the moment they set themselves down quietly to enjoy what they had gained, from that time their commerce declined. The Portuguese experienced minutely the same fate; that vast commerce which they possessed in the Indies, was all raised in the midst of war and bold enterprizes: in the present age, the English Company perform the greatest feats in the field, and is constantly engaged in war; do we not find in this period, while the expences occasioned by such war run higher than ever known, that the trade of the Company is also greater, and its affairs in general more prosperous than ever known? The dead calm of peace is good for nought but breeding corruptions, and slackening all discipline; but in the din of war, and the hurry of enterprize, there is a keenness in every mind, which has a beneficial effect on all transactions whether of arms or commerce; besides, difficulties arise, and are met with on

every hand, which for ever keep activity awake, and make commerce prosper better than when every gale is favourable, and every sea is calm; nothing is so much to be dreaded by a commercial people, as that slothful inactivity which long ease and security are sure to bring. I have been led into these reflections by the observations which are commonly made on the East India Company of England; many persons have found much fault with the idea of wars and conquests, but let me remark, that the more of them the better; when once it ceases to be a spirited, enterprizing, warlike company, it will cease to be an advantageous trading one.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

*Of the Present State of the Dutch Commerce
in Europe.*

TRAVELLERS too often, for the sake of amusing their readers, sacrifice the more useful objects: I do not apprehend that a journey through Holland, with some residence in the principal cities, should produce nothing more than a description of canals and town-houses; on the contrary, I think it more useful to lay before one's readers, such accounts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, as can be gained both by conversation with the natives, and also an examination of their best writers, with proper extracts from such parts as never appeared in our language; by these means, a traveller is enabled to mix the useful with the agreeable, and give better and more modern accounts of these matters, than other writers who have preceded him. I conducted myself on this plan in the last chap-

ter, and I shall do the same here, but taking different guides.

The B A L T I C.

BEFORE the act of navigation in England, the commerce of the Baltic employed from a thousand to twelve hundred ships of Holland, which, for the most part, went half loaded, and returned wholly so; the commerce of Norway, alone, employed three hundred ships every year, of four or five hundred tons. The act of navigation having restrained the carrying trade of the Dutch to her ports to the single commodities produced in Holland, their commerce with the North at once suffered a great diminution; and the increase of the English marine augmented in England the consumption of the commodities of the North, proper for the construction of ships; which weakened the commerce of the Dutch in the northern seas, by the competition of the English, infinitely disadvantageous to the Dutch merchants in all their sales. These two causes, which flow from the same principle, are the reason of the actual state of the commerce of the Dutch with
the

the North, which is reduced to half that which England possesses at present.

The importations at Peterburgh of merchandize from Holland, in

Rubles.

1753, amounted to 47,691 58

The exportations to 344,792 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Excess of the importations of merchandize upon the exportations. 131,699 26 $\frac{1}{2}$

In 1754, the importations arose to 396,797 23 $\frac{1}{2}$

The exportations to 317,835 69 $\frac{1}{2}$

Excess 81,961 54 $\frac{1}{2}$

We may therefore value the importations of the Dutch in merchandize from Peterburgh, at a common year, in time of peace, at two millions, or two millions and a quarter of livres, or about one hundred thousand pounds; and the exports to sixteen or seventeen hundred thousand livres, or about seventy thousand pounds; and the excess of the importations on the exportations, at from four to six hundred thousand livres, or about twenty one thousand pounds. The increase of the English marine, since the act of navigation, has doubled five times over, in their ports, the consumption of the products of the North, proper for the construction

tion of their armaments. The constant application of England to acquire the empire of the sea, has given them to understand, that the principal means of following it consisted in a great navigation, and a great commerce; and that nation has likewise procured itself, by the ability of the negotiators of its treaties of commerce, the greatest advantages. It is under the protection of these treaties that England has established houses of commerce in the North, above all at Petersburgh, and in much greater number than the Dutch, and infinitely more rich; for this commerce requires foreign houses to have great funds for providing and contracting with advantage, both in the sales, and also in the purchases made. It is the English who give price to the merchandize of Russia, and who give the tone to the commerce.

If we judge of the commerce of the English in the North, by that which they carry on at Petersburgh, we may conceive them to have half the trade of the Baltic. According to an account sent from a house at Petersburgh, out of 327 ships which entered in 1753, there were

149 English

70 Dutch

3 French

8 Russian

8	Russian
25	Lubeckers
18	Danish
21	Mecklengburghers
6	Dantzickers
2	Hamburghers
10	Stetiners
1	Holsteiner
14	Swedish
—	
327	Total.
—	

The exportations from
England in merchan- *Rubles.*
dize to Peterburgh, in
1753, was 2,084,489 70 $\frac{1}{2}$

The importations in mer-
chandize only 999,963 67

Excess of the exportations 1,084,524 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

In 1754, the exportations
amounted to 2,207,924 24 $\frac{1}{2}$

The importations in mer-
chandize 989,693 92 $\frac{1}{2}$

Excess of the exporta-
tions 1,218,230 31 $\frac{1}{2}$

We may therefore value the exportations
of the English to Peterburgh, in merchan-
dize, one year with another, in time of peace,
at from ten to twelve millions of livres, or
near

near five hundred thousand pounds. Their importations at five millions, or near two hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and the balance at five or six millions of livres. In time of war, the excess is much greater, as England imports from Russia a much greater quantity of hemp for her maritime armaments.

The general merchandize exported to Peterburgh in 1753 amounted to

3,461,383 62

The merchandize entered

3,220,623 76 $\frac{1}{2}$

Excess of the exportations

240,759 85 $\frac{1}{4}$

In 1754, the exportations amounted to

3,577,939 99 $\frac{1}{4}$

The importations to

3,279,097 88 $\frac{1}{4}$

Excess of exportations

298,842 10

We may therefore value the balance of exportation and importation in the total trade of Peterburgh, during these two years of peace, at from twelve to fifteen hundred thousand livres, or about sixty thousand pounds. The total of the trade being from thirty-three to thirty-five millions of livres, or about one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Such is the picture which may be given of the progress of industry in Russia, if we may believe

believe the ministers of that empire. It is true, that the government has given much attention to gaining all sorts of manufactures, particularly all stuffs of wool, silk, and linens, which they partly effect by their ministers at foreign courts seducing workmen to go thither. But as they act upon bad principles, the success is not answerable to their hope. Foreigners, transported thus to Russia, are unhappy, and their industry is not natural to the country.

The commerce of Holland with Norway is principally for timber, in return for which the Dutch pay large sums of money: with Sweden she trades for iron, and some naval stores, for which she sends all the products of the East Indies, and of the southern parts of Europe, but have been much rivalled therein by the French. Her principal Baltic trade is with Dantzick, from whence she brings amazing quantities of corn, and in return supplies Poland, through that city, with more commodities than any other nation in Europe, particularly in East India goods, wines, brandy, and all sorts of manufactures.

GER.

G E R M A N Y.

THE trade of very considerable tracts in the North of Germany centers at Hamburgh, which can be considered only as a rival of Holland ; but the central and Southern parts of the empire are supplied, in a great degree, by the Dutch : they have a large trade with Bremen and Emden, for the supply of the interior country ; but the commerce of the Rhine is most considerable ; the Dutch alone have this trade, and they regard themselves almost as the proprietors of the navigation of that river : this navigation goes far into Switzerland, and by means of the Moselle, the Maine, and the Neckar, a prodigious extent of populous country, with many great towns, are connected, and trade immediately to Holland. The industrious city of Nuremburgh sends a variety of manufactures, particularly toys, of which in England there is a vast consumption, and which are called Dutch toys, because we have them from Holland. It is necessary to be explanatory of this inland trade, as the writers in the English language, who have treated of the commerce of the Dutch, have generally overlooked it.

By

By means of the navigation of the Rhine, the Dutch serve the four Electorates of the Rhine, Sarbruck, Deux Ponts, Baden, Wurtemberg, the Brisgau Spireback, Alsace, almost all Switzerland, and the greatest part of Loraine, with all sorts of spiceries, drugs, oils, rice, whalebone, tin, copper, brass wire, sugar, tea, coffee, the wines of France and Spain, brandies, dried fruits, dried and salted fish, &c. Of most of these commodities there is an immense consumption in almost all this extent of country. Holland maintains by her commerce that of Frankfort, which is only a grand magazine, subordinate to those of Holland; so that almost all the connections, all the correspondencies, and the commerce of that city, which extend themselves far into Germany, are nothing but a commerce at second hand, of which that of Holland is the first.

The woods which come to the Dutch by the Neckar and the Rhine; the wines of the Rhine and the Moselle, the pot ashes, the iron, the tobacco of Swabia, the Palatinate, and of Spireback, are all very rich, and make the principal articles of the returns in this commerce. The loadings of the boats which come to Cologne, are for the greatest part of fine merchandize, insomuch that the
loading

loading of a single barge often amounts to five or six hundred thousand florins. Such is the idea of the foundation of this commerce, that we must, for discovering the whole amount and advantages, observe the markets in Holland and Germany, and in the other countries that take a part. We must consider Holland as the regular and forced market, where all these countries buy all the commodities named above, both for their own use, and sale of the superfluity. We ought, at the same time, to distinguish the respective proprietors of the commodities, and the merchants who come in between those proprietors; and observe, that it is by means of these merchants that there exists any bargains and sales, freights, or return, if we except the article wood, which is all done by commission. No merchant in Holland makes his purchases in Germany, nor sends any thing from Holland on his own account, with exception of wines, because they do not send the wines of any country to Holland to sell, but by commission; and wood is bought only by commission at the first hand: the wine and timber merchants of Holland contract upon the spot themselves. There are also little traders in Holland, who charge themselves with conducting

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ing merchandize of this sort in their own boats to Cologne; their commerce extends no further: they remain at Cologne till they have made their sale, and purchased a loading for a return; these loadings are not rich; and there are not, perhaps, ten barges in Holland that use this commerce, on account of the proprietors.

All the rest of the commerce of the Rhine, both out and home, is carried on by commission; they sell in Holland by commission the hides, pot-ashes, corn, and tobacco. Some Dutchmen speculate in these articles, and in making their purchases at the place; this however is rare. All the merchants, those from Franckfort as well as all the other cities concerned in the navigation of the Rhine, make their purchases at Amsterdam, or Rotterdam, by their correspondents. The boats, which make the navigation from Holland to Cologne, have only a commerce in freight from the proprietors; neither have they any interest in the purchase or sale of the merchandize with which they are loaded; and this trade, by freighting, extends no farther than Cologne, where the merchandize is unloaded, and loaded again on board the boats of the country.

The commerce of the Rhine is an object of more than ten millions a year; and besides the profit that the Dutch make upon the purchase and sale of the merchandize, this trade further gives three precious branches, which are of the most solid benefit; the freight of the navigation from Holland to Cologne, and from Cologne to Holland, the commission and the circulation of credit, which is a regular benefit without any risk. In calculating these three extensive branches at a value of more than one hundred millions, it is easy to form an idea of the solid benefits which Holland draws from the navigation of the Rhine.

If the duties which have been imposed at Wesel, on the navigation of this river, are such as render the navigation of Holland to Cologne dearer than the carriage by land, either from Maestricht to Cologne, or from Brussels to Treves, it is not to be doubted but the Sovereign of Wesel, and his subjects, will lose entirely all benefits arising from the navigation of the Rhine. All the commerce of Holland, which is made by that river, might equally be made by taking the Rhine at Cologne, and the route by land from Maestricht to Cologne, or by taking the Moselle at Treves: the trade might
equally

equally be followed in these two routes ; and it would in such a case happen, that the great duties imposed at Wefel, which the Sovereign has reduced to a branch of his revenues, would produce scarce any thing ; but at the same time would be ruinous to his subjects. These two new routes, which commerce would be forced to take, would add, without a doubt, a new value to merchandize ; above all, to that which would be sent by the route of Maestricht to Cologne ; for this carriage by land could not be less than three or four per cent. on the merchandize, and perhaps more, if we consider the incumbrance on the merchandize that returns.

Respecting the route of Brussels to Treves, the government of the Low Countries is too enlightened and too wise not to favour, with all its protection, the transport of the commerce of Holland by that way, if the duties imposed at Wefel obliged the Dutch to take it. This route would become, perhaps, less advantageous than that of Maestricht to Cologne, and might do, instead of it, if the navigation of the Rhine was loaded with heavy duties.

We, nevertheless, ought not to dissemble, in allowing that great mischief would result

from burthening this navigation with too great duties. But this evil would fall principally upon all that part of Germany, which exports its timber and other commodities by the Neckar, the Maine, the Moselle, and the Rhine. The proprietors would be forced to sell all their commodities at a low price, for sustaining the competition of merchandize of the same sort in the markets of Holland; and their timber forced to support such heavy duties, because unable to be conveyed by any other navigation, would necessarily drop to a contemptible price.

The commerce of the Maese is not an object so important, but the navigation through the country of Liege is of consequence; it makes a great consumption of spice, sugar, tea, coffee, drugs, fish, hides, and many of the commodities of the Indies. Holland draws from thence arms of all sorts, hides, charcoal, utensils of iron of all sorts, &c. She carries by land from Nimeguen the manufactures of woollen stuffs, which are spread in great numbers in the environs of Liege, Aix la Chapelle, and in the country of Juliers, wools of all sorts, oil of olive, &c. &c. This article is very rich, since the only magazine which has been made of these

these merchandize is at Nimeguen; for being carried by land to their destination, has enriched immensely the commissioners.

F L A N D E R S.

THE Dutch furnish to the Austrian provinces spices, sugar, tea, coffee, drugs of all sorts, cocoa, linens, India stuffs, raw hides, Spanish wool, copper, brass, potashes, tin, lead, Rhenish and Moselle wines, those of Spain, tobacco, oils, fish dry and salted, ivory, the fruits of Provence and Italy, silks, cotton, and all the merchandize of the Levant, flax-seed, timber for building, &c. They draw principally in return, corn, and coleseed, linens, lace, bricks and stone, &c.

The commerce of these provinces is one of the most advantageous branches of that of Holland. She could not lose two articles more interesting than the sale of printed linens, and of paper. The paper mills have been much increased of late years, and they have established manufactures of printed linens and cottons, at Anvers; the Dutch will likewise lose the commerce from the coleseed of Brabant and Flanders, if they continue erecting coleseed mills.

The administration of the Austrian provinces has made, from time to time, several efforts for drawing their commerce out of the hands of the Dutch; but these attempts are yet too weak, for giving a sensible decrease to the Dutch trade. Such are the burthens which they have laid on the importation of herrings from Holland; and the precautions taken for importing all the Spanish wool that is wanted at Ostend, which the manufacturers at Limburg, Verviers, Juliers, Aix la Chapelle, &c. draw at present from Amsterdam and Rotterdam. It is certain, that the administration of the Low Countries will succeed, when they come to be directed on good principles, in providing these provinces by sea with herrings and salted fish; but they can never make it an object of commerce with foreigners in competition with the Dutch, while the provinces remain so destitute of a marine. The article of the import of Spanish wool, established at Ostend with success, cannot subsist to the detriment of the Dutch, any longer than the Republic does not prohibit the ships of its subjects from transporting the wool to any but its own ports; because the merchants of the Low Countries, from whom they procure the commissions, are not in a state of loading

loading the Spanish wools in ships of their own ; they are obliged to freight the Dutch ships. If they undertook the navigation themselves they could get no freight to Spain, consequently, the trade would become ruinous to themselves and the manufacturers. Thus the Dutch will preserve all they possess of the commerce of the Austrian provinces, while those provinces remain without a trading marine.

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

FROM the establishment of the Republic there has always been a great trade between it and England in spite of the efforts of the envious of both nations, which are absurdities ; while France and England, are at all times rivals in doing mischief the one to the other, and perhaps also to all the other nations of Europe : they have disputed with each other in negotiations of alliance with the Republic. Each of these two powers has presented a system of political interests to draw the friendship of the Republic : it is certain, that the French negotiators might make a merit of the greatest and most sensible interests of commerce, nor could it be conceived possible for England to remove

the Republic from its rival, and to attach her by sensible motives: she ought to employ interests superior to those which rise immediately from commerce. Holland formerly carried on with England a very considerable one, for the situation in which commerce was in general through Europe: this has declined very much since 1651, the epocha of the act of navigation in England. The Dutch take of England, tobacco, tin, woollen goods, jewels, clincallery, corn, lead, &c. From Scotland and Ireland, salt, beef and salmon, butter, tallow, hides, coal, &c. this commerce is almost entirely in favour of England. After the consumption in Holland of this merchandize the remainder is exported, but does not yield the Dutch a profit of more than a million.

The duties or absolute prohibition on foreign manufactures, particularly on linens sent from Holland, are owing to the care with which Great Britain, and above all Ireland, has given to the culture of flax, and the making of linen. The exports from Holland are almost entirely reduced to spices, and England also gains the freight and the commission of all that is furnished by Holland; so that if the balance between the two countries appears not so disadvantageous

geous to the former as it really is, it is because this balance is so much affected by the interest of that immense proportion of the national debt of England, which belongs to the Dutch.

FRANCE.

THE commerce of Holland with France has been always very considerable, and of very great importance to the two nations; but above all to the French, by the prodigious quantity of merchandize which the Dutch draw from that kingdom, both for their own use, and for maintaining their commerce with other nations: but it may be truly said, that this commerce is also of much consequence to the Dutch, not only for their own necessary consumption, but by losing this trade they would also lose the benefit of their exportations to France; and in their importations, the benefit of their assortments for the North, a branch of freight and navigation very extensive, with all the necessary advantages of the magazines in Holland, of merchandize sent to and brought from France, articles infinitely precious in maintaining the population of the Republic. It therefore imports the Dutch much to cultivate

tivate with care this commerce, and to maintain their superiority over the Hanseatic towns, whose competition they have to sustain.

It is not less true that the commerce of Holland is very interesting to France, and that she could not be removed from it without losing the precious advantages of a great competition, and those likewise which result from the interior consumption of Holland, which is not to be despised; for if there are productions in France, which Holland cannot do without, there are also many others, and much interior consumption, that would be wholly restrained, if France burthened this commerce. We may therefore hold it for a very plain and simple truth, that the immense commerce between Holland and France is respectively useful to the two nations, and that neither of them could burthen it without doing mischief to the other, and also to themselves.

We may divide in general the commerce which the Dutch carry on with France into two branches; the trade by land, and that by sea. The first has for its object the manufactures, clincallery, and the modes which the Dutch draw from France by the Low Countries. The maritime commerce we
know

know is carried from all the ports of that monarchy, and is not bounded by the productions of the kingdom; it embraces also those of the Colonies, and some articles which her East India Company receives from her establishment in the Indies and China. The Levant also furnishes many articles of consequence, by the way of Marseilles, which enter into the commerce of Holland with France.

The interior consumption of Holland, founded in luxury, takes many commodities imported from France. For although œconomy reigns among the Dutch, the consumption in their tables and their dress is infinitely increased. Nevertheless this importation from France furnishes a rich re-exportation. It was estimated, before the last war, that the returns from America to France, in sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton, amounted from one hundred and forty to one hundred and forty-five millions per annum, or 6,343,000*l.* sterling. Near half those commodities, excepting the cotton used in the manufactures of France, is sent from France to Amsterdam or Rotterdam, either on account of the Dutch, or to be sold on account of the French: all this rich part of the commerce of France is entirely employed in

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re-exportation ; for Holland draws from her own Colonies as much as is necessary for her own consumption in all these articles.

This immense importation from France is made entirely by Dutch ships ; thus in leaving to the advantages of commerce the uncertainty which accompanies the result of buying and selling, we ought to calculate a very great sum, by which the riches of the Republic are increased with a physical certainty ; the freight, importation and exportation, the customs, the loading and unloading in the ports of Holland, the duties of stowage, &c. and the commission. If we consider in detail, the importations and exportations of Holland, her navigation in Europe, and the advantages of assortments of goods in her general magazine, there is no branch of commerce more precious to her than that with France, and which she ought to preserve with the greatest care : she has lost some advantages of her herring fishery, but that of France is too weak to rival hers amongst foreigners ; but it is increased to do her infinite prejudice in the interior consumption of that kingdom. The French have not made weak efforts for getting into their own hands their trade to the North ; but the merchants of that nation, principally

pally occupied by the commerce of America, require too great encouragements for carrying on their own commerce of the North; because the benefit is much inferior to that of the American commerce. There is besides another reason, which ought for a long time to preserve the Dutch in possession of these branches, drawn from the nature itself of the commerce of France, and the situation of most of the French merchants. The commerce of the North demands very considerable sums to be advanced for a long time, and consequently a great capital, long employed for a very moderate profit; while the interest paid for money, employed in the commerce of France, is always reckoned at six per cent. Few of the French merchants have funds sufficient for waiting the return for so little profit: they are used to trade on small capitals, and to make their greater operations rather on their credit than their capital; but in the commerce of the North nothing can be done by credit, especially in Russia, where they must give a year's credit in selling, and in buying pay a year beforehand, in order to trade to the best advantage. There are but few merchants in France in a state of sustaining so long a credit, to do Holland any mischief by competition.

The

The merchants of France carry on the American commerce with very moderate funds ; they send off cargoes almost entirely on credit, and they get easily and quickly new funds when they have received advice of the returns being expedited, upon which they may make their assurance. It is the same very often with the funds of the Dutch, to whom they send their returns on commission, who remit them two thirds, or three fourths of the value, with which they support the credit of the first cargoes, and gain fresh credit for new ones. It is only the American commerce which gives in France that happy facility to the merchants which their capitals so much require. Thus it is, the French merchants themselves, who contribute the most to maintain the Dutch, in possession of their carrying trade, and the commerce of the North, which they will preserve in the same manner a long time, especially while the commerce of France with America continues flourishing.

S P A I N.

THE trade with Spain is divided into two parts extremely important, that of the productions natural to Spain, which are carried

ried on in the different ports of the kingdom; and that of the American productions, dependant on Spain, which is all at Cadiz. Spain is not so abundant as she ought to be in her home produce, nor so much in Europe as in America; but she is enough so for doubly enriching the industrious nations, by furnishing their industry with a great number of new materials, of which some are peculiar, such as her wool, cochineal, &c. and also by finding a great consumption for the products of their industry. The trade of Holland has suffered some diminution in these two branches of commerce with Spain, but this diminution is much more sensible in the last.

The competition in the first part of the Spanish commerce is, on the part of France, England, and the Hanse Towns, infinitely increased. The Dutch have, besides, lost the advantage of carrying on this commerce with their own manufactures; they have been obliged to employ those of other nations, and to make an œconomical commerce of raw materials, instead of working them up, as they did heretofore; this branch is nevertheless very rich still.

The clandestine commerce between the Colonies in America is at present almost entirely

entirely in the hands of the English, by means of their establishments in the isles of Jamaica and Providence, and by their intercourse with the Spanish Colonies is become extremely easy, and also by the establishments which have been granted them by the last treaty of peace, in Florida, Campeachy, and Honduras; insomuch that that nation makes at present, by Spanish America, half as much as the commerce which all Europe heretofore carried on by way of Cadiz. It is very difficult to re-establish this rich and important commerce, in which the Dutch had so large a part in its antient state; the merchants of Holland can only make useless complaints, like those of all other industrious nations of Europe, equally interested in the declension of the American commerce at Cadiz.

But if it is difficult to stop the abuses of clandestine commerce with New Spain, so prejudicial to the legitimate commerce of all the nations of Europe, it is, perhaps, more difficult still, to prevent an entire conquest of that part of America, which has great reason to fear the forces of the English Colonies of North America, united with the Mother Country. The taking of Louisburgh, by provincial troops, in 1746, was
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the first essay of the natural forces of New-England; and the English Colonies of North America have, without ceasing, since that time, extended their population, their industry, their commerce, and their marine. The cities of Boston and Philadelphia have, alone, more than two thousand ships at sea; and they are at the same time infinitely fortified by a great number of regular troops, which England maintains among them: we may easily foresee, that these Colonies will, one day, form enterprizes more extended, and more rich, with equal success. The conquests of Mexico and Peru would not present, perhaps at this time, more difficulties than conquering Louisburgh; but would be of much greater importance, both to the English and to Europe; and we should fear that the actual situation of their commerce, and their maritime force, would enable them to perpetuate this ruinous superiority, without the project being founded in the system of their government. The English Colonies in North America have at present more shipping than England itself had at the beginning of the last century. All their natural productions, if we except the materials proper for the construction of ships, are the same as those of England; and

these Colonies being given to manufactures, and with liberty of navigation on the European seas, are come to be in commerce a rival nation to the European English. The trade of peltry, and the materials for ship building, with the consumption of manufactures, do not indemnify England for the prejudice which arises from a competition already very mischievous, and which cannot fail of increasing; for, on one hand, the manufactures which are carried into the Colonies; and on the other, the degree in which they extend their population and their agriculture: they send into Europe a great quantity of rice and corn, &c. which come in competition with the English corn in all the markets of England.

Both European and American English, have equally a great interest in putting a stop to the effects of that competition, or to indemnify themselves by other branches of commerce. The European English have, above all, a particular interest in opening new markets for their manufactures, of which the consumption has ceased to increase in Europe. The sale to the West Indies, by the clandestine commerce, although very considerable, is not sufficient to make amends for the diminution of the consumption

sumption of Europe, which is owing to the excessive dearness of labour, and the necessity of supporting the weight of the public debt, will not allow a change.

Motives, so interesting to a commercial and warlike nation, with forces so considerable, both in Europe and America, ought to make Spain fearful of losing one day or other the riches of the West Indies; and other nations of being deprived of the part which they take of those riches by a legal industry. A nation that sustains and authorises for so great a number of years, a clandestine commerce, at the expence of all the industrious part of Europe, will allow us to believe, that she would equally legitimate in her eyes a violent usurpation, which she might honour with the title of conquest. We may regard the commerce of Europe as menaced with this revolution, if Spain does not fortify her Colonies with care, if she does not render access to them infinitely difficult, and if she does not meet with a powerful assistance on the part of other nations, in case of an attack. It is thus, that the commerce of the Dutch by Cadiz to the West Indies, is extremely declined, from the clandestine trade of the English in America; and will perhaps be one day entirely ruined.

P O R T U G A L.

THE first and principal branch of this commerce has been since 1703 in the hands of the English : it consists of the importation of woollen manufactures, which no nation but England has sent in any quantities to Portugal : this has rendered the English almost entirely masters of the trade of Brazil, which was given them, in the treaty made by Mr. Methuen with the crown of Portugal in 1703 ; it has constantly brought in a balance every year in favour of England of five hundred thousand pounds : a balance so great drawn from Portugal by one single nation, has left to others but a very moderate commerce with that kingdom. The exportation of corn to Portugal was a very important object to the Dutch, but the Colonies of New-England have, for some years last past, carried great quantities thither of as good a quality as that of Europe, and at a much lower price.

I T A L Y.

THE Dutch have a very great trade to Italy : it is a capital market for their merchandize

chandize of the Indies, of America, and of their fisheries; and for almost all the merchandize which they import from Germany and the North. This trade is principally carried on by the ports of Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, Naples, and Messina: these five places are the magazines of all the merchandize which the rest of Italy furnishes to foreign countries, and of that which they receive in return.

This country has been the original of all the silk manufactures in Europe; but the French have rivalled the Italians with great success. The manufacturers of Lyons, who send to Italy every year an immense quantity of their stuffs, especially rich ones, shew plainly the declension of the manufactures of Italy. Ordinary silks are made at London; also at Berlin, Vienna, in Denmark, in Holland, in France, and at Lyons. Almost every where there are silk manufactures, where the mechanical part of the common business is as perfect as at Lyons. At London the blue is finer than any where else; and the black is very superior; the workmen there are also better paid, better furnished with every thing, better watched, and are more equal in their chain, and finish better every thing they make. Without entering into

infinite detail, when we compare the substance of stuffs and the beauty of colour, or black satins in general, with those of England, we cannot hesitate in the choice, if there is not a great difference in the price. Many of the silks of England are incontrovertibly finer than those of any other manufacture, but others are preferred, because they are cheaper.—The articles of genius, taste, and art, are displayed at Lyons, in all their riches; and the merchants of that city know how to make the most of the fruits of their industry, exhibiting their fabrics particularly in all Courts; for Lyons is the manufacture of all the Courts of Europe.

The L E V A N T.

THIS commerce has been a long time the first and richest branch of the trade of Europe: it is to this branch of commerce that we owe the mulberry trees, silk and manufactures of silk, and the birth of almost all the useful and agreeable arts that we enjoy.

The benefits received from the Levant trade, like that of Russia and the East Indies, consist in the returns, particularly for those nations who are able to export cloths; for
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this is the only article of exportation made by the merchants to the Levant, that is truly rich and beneficial to themselves, and to those nations that fabricate them. The Levant was accustomed only to the Venetian cloths, when the English, French, and Dutch entered into a competition with the Venetians; and as fashion took very little with the Levantines, these three nations gave their first attention to imitate the Venetian manufacture: these cloths were imitated very promptly in England, France, and Holland; and this imitation was, after the discovery of the new route to the East Indies, the most fatal stroke to the commerce of Venice. This branch, the most precious of the Levant commerce, is almost entirely lost by the Dutch; a decline which they have met with in common with England. It is uniformly the effect of the high price of labour, which has for a great number of years raised the prices of the manufactures of both England and Holland.

England, always employed in the care of extending and preserving her commerce, has taken all possible precautions for preserving the sale of cloths in the Levant; except those which could alone revive this branch of commerce, which was to carry them as

or cheaper to market than those of France. The French have added to a greater cheapness of their cloths, a more proper conduct for insuring and perpetuating the sale, by submitting the commerce to regulations extremely wise, concerning the sale of the goods in the Levant, and their manufacture in Languedoc.

They distinguish in the sale of cloths, in the Levant, the free ports, from those which are not; that is to say, they distinguish the market, where the cloth is sold in retale to be consumed in the place, from those where the bales of drapery are disposed of by wholesale, in truck for merchandize, or for being exported: in the first, as at Cairo and Constantinople, where this consumption is limited, the retailers, from the example of those of Europe, ask an equal price to serve them, as a rule; from whence came the French regulations, which have prescribed fixed prices, and they also judge, that this rule may in other ports be ill placed, and burthensome to the trade; they judge, by the local circumstances of the commerce, that it is necessary to unite the French merchants, for selling, to the men, who are themselves united and leagued for buying. Without the assistance of regulations, there would
often

often be, between the merchants of neighbouring ports, a competition, which would, like a civil war, be mischievous to all.

It is to these regulations, (which the commerce particularly demanded), and to the cheapness of the cloths, that the French owe the prosperity of their commerce to the Levant, and the superiority which they have acquired over all other nations. They have, besides the advantage of affording in their exports three articles, which are become of infinite consequence in this commerce, viz. sugar, the coffee of Martinico, and indigo. Marseilles, which is the only magazine in France for the Levant commerce, draws these three articles from the first hand, and the consumption of sugar, and coffee of Martinico, is prodigiously extended in the Levant. Independantly of their dried fruits, the Levantines are come to use much sugar in their coffee, and to mix the coffee of Martinico with that which they draw at present from Arabia by the caravans; insomuch that there is scarcely finding any coffee of Mocha in the markets of the Levant, that is not mixed with that of Martinico.

It has been proved, by a state taken from the registers in the Chancery of France, and by those of the customs sent to the French Ministers

Ministers in 1750, that from the epocha of the French regulations, the total of their sales is augmented considerably ; that those of the English, which were but one year before the regulations 2200 bales, was found to be reduced to 400 bales, and sometimes less ; that since this epocha, the English have not sold in twenty-five years more than 8700 bales, of ten, twelve, or fifteen half pieces ; while the French, in the same period, sold 43,352 bales, of ten or twelve half pieces.

Notwithstanding two acts of parliament for stopping this decrease in England, still it has continued ; and the English have no means of regaining a superiority, or even raising a competition, but by a low price of labour in their manufactures, which is very difficult to procure. The Dutch are under the same disadvantage as the English in this commerce, in respect of their cloth manufactures, since they are nine or ten per cent. dearer than those of France ; and it would be equally difficult for them to lower the prices by a cheaper rate of labour. But the Dutch have not the same reasons of politics or jealousy, as the English, which will not permit them to carry on their commerce with the manufactured stuffs of foreigners.

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The trade of Holland appropriates to itself the manufactures of every nation known, and generally employs, with an entire liberty, the productions of industry of all countries.

Freight and Commission, &c.

OF the commerce of freight, those of banking, commission, and insurance, are branches of the Republic's trade the most solidly rich; but particularly those of freight and commission, which two are always sure and privileged, and accompanied with no risks; but these branches have, at the same time, their source uniformly in the aggregate of all the other branches of commerce in the State; inasmuch that their decrease, their increase and preservation, depends entirely on, and varies according as the general trade in the state more or less flourishes. We must therefore regard all the other branches of the Dutch commerce as so many canals, which carry into the heart of the Republic, the aliment of freight and commission, banking and insurance; which enriches at the same time a thousand brokers, and furnishes a thousand means of subsistence to a numerous people. These are the true and most solid riches,

riches, which result from a great œconomical commerce, such as that of Holland.

Navigation is, without contradiction, the principle of a great power and what ought to be more interesting to humanity, it is the source of a great commerce ; the nation who possesses it multiplies on course its ships, in proportion to it ; and practice always brings this advantage, that their sailors become more hardy, and navigate more securely, than those of other nations ; for which reason such a nation employs fewer men, and can make the transport of commodities at a cheaper rate than others.

A commercial nation draws to it all the materials necessary for constructing ships, seamen, and all sorts of workmen accessory for, or that concern the marine. It is thus that Holland has infinitely augmented her population at the expence of other nations ; it is thus that a navigating nation may destroy the shipping of other nations, or prevent their raising any ; it is in this respect the same as with other nations in manufactures. They are the same consequences flowing from the same principles in two different objects : but navigation has a much stronger influence than the other, in raising a political power ; for manufactures can only draw
riches

riches to a state; but navigation, besides the riches it procures, gives a real force to the state: it is, at the same time, very difficult for nations, who excel, or who predominate in the arts of manufacturing, to prevent other nations from establishing the like among themselves by the same industry. But it is very easy for a nation, who reigns upon the sea, to prevent any other nation from becoming so powerful on it as to rival them thereon.

The principal end, which ought to be the aim of all nations who navigate, is to construct perfect ships, and to raise good sailors, and also to build them cheaper than other nations. Holland enjoyed for a long time these two advantages; the first, as far as the situation of its ports would admit; and the second, from the low price of labour, and by procuring with great œconomy the materials at the first hand.

The commerce of freight is principally maintained by that general œconomical trade, which makes Holland the general magazine of merchandize from all parts of the world. We are not nevertheless to believe, that the Dutch navigation is carried on totally for their own account; or that their commerce uniformly consists in going to buy the merchandize

chandize of Southern nations, to form assortments for the North ; or from the North, to form those for the South ; but it is by this commerce that the Dutch have formed a general magazine ; and this being once gained, Holland was immediately regarded as the first market in Europe ; and it gave birth to another branch, infinitely precious, and which equally produced the means of subsisting the people, and much extended the commerce of freight. This market, being regarded by the merchants of all other nations, as that where they could, with most ease and most convenience, sell or buy all sorts of merchandize, has given to the Dutch a commerce of commission very extensive ; in so much that a great part of the merchandize, which is brought at present to Holland by Dutch ships, is for the account of foreigners, and exported for the same : and a great part of the commerce of Holland consists in buying and selling for the account of others.

Of the Progress and Decrease of Commerce.

THE different branches of commerce, which consist in the employment of ships, and making sales and purchases on the account of all the merchants of Europe, and making

making the circulation of a great credit, and an immense sum of paper, always accompanied by the benefits of brokerage, &c. and the insurances have, as we have observed, for their foundation, all the other branches of the commerce of the Republic. Thus as the universality of commerce in the state, is more or less flourishing, so also are the particular branches which depend upon it. We may nevertheless observe, that these branches of the commerce of Holland, have not their prosperity founded in the benefits arising from other branches, but uniformly from the volume of merchandize which fills the general national magazine. It is not of much consequence to these branches, that the merchants buy and sell with little or much profit, but it infinitely imports them, that the merchants keep in the magazines of Holland, always in the same degree of abundance, the assortments of all the merchandize of the four parts of the world; and that the œconomical commerce always sustains the reputation which it has given to Holland, of being the first market in Europe. But if the decrease of the other branches of commerce diminish, the amount of the magazines in this article, it must necessarily follow, that the commerce of freight, of commission,

mission, of banking and insurance, must diminish in proportion.

Since the act of navigation in England, we may observe a decrease in the commerce of Holland; but a decrease, perhaps, too trifling to attract the immediate attention of the government. This decrease has had two causes, independantly of the act of navigation; one of which might have been easily foreseen, or perhaps prevented; and the effects of the other have been considerably weakened. The wars, which have happened since that time, and the progress of the general knowledge of commerce, which has without ceasing extended itself through all other nations, and must necessarily diminish the trade of the Dutch.

The wars terminated by the treaties of Nimeguen, Ryswick, and Utrecht; and lastly, by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, have successively obliged the Republic to make use of a vast credit, in borrowing enormously to sustain the expence: these debts have burthened the state with an immense sum in interest, which could not be paid but by augmenting excessively the imports, which have fallen, for much the greatest part of them, on the consumption of a country whose limits are extremely bounded, and consequently

consequently upon industry. This has rendered labour infinitely dear; this dearneſs of labour has not only reſtrained almoſt all the manufactures and induſtry, for interior conſumption, but it has alſo given a ſenſible ſtroke to the commerce of freight, an acceſſary part, and the moſt precious of the commerce of œconomy: it has rendered ſhip-building dearer, augmented the prices of all the work on which navigation depends, and likewise all that of the ports and magazines. It could not be poſſible then to augment the price of labour without giving, in ſpite of every effort of the œconomical Dutch, a ſenſible advantage to other nations, who would raiſe a trade in freight, and of buying and ſelling.

The ſecond cauſe of the decreaſe of the commerce of Holland has made as rapid a progreſs, and continues to make it in our days. Its Company of the Indies has loſt infinite advantages by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe of England, France, Denmark, and Sweden; but it is in particular the competition of that of England which has done her the moſt hurt. All other nations now aim at carrying on a commerce thither directly; and the nations, heretofore the leaſt commercial in Europe, have almoſt arrived at this

point. The ports of the Baltic, and the cities of Germany, carry on, as far as it is possible, their trade directly with the South of Europe; and increase every day a competition with the Dutch, in their buying and selling trade. Each nation endeavours to have as much commerce as it can, and none but what gain some increase at the expence of that of Holland.

Nevertheless this general industry might well be allowed to restrain the trade of Holland; but some wanted to extend it to her entire destruction. Her returns from the East Indies and America, joined with her fishery, place her in a condition of forming assortments, which would always give her a decisive superiority over the Hanse Towns, who never can procure themselves equal advantages; and this superiority would be greater yet, if the Republic gave a new attention to her Colonies in America. If their improvement was well conducted, their productions might be extended to replace, in the total of their commerce, a part of the diminution it has undergone. It is one of the most precious branches of the Dutch trade, and merits more than the precarious attention it has met with.

If

If we observe with attention the actual progress of industry among all the nations of Europe, we shall see it happen, and perhaps speedily, that all nations will have a natural commerce, and a degree of power, proportioned to the riches of that commerce, nearly relative to the extent and nature of the territory which each nation possesses, whether in Europe or America. The territorial riches are the true riches of the state; and the government, which applies the national industry to give them all the value they are capable of, is that which will give the state a power the most solidly fixed. It is this principally which ought to render the Dutch more precious of their American Colonies. It is only in America that Holland can gain the advantages of a territorial power.

Commerce does not at present afford to any nation in Europe the legitimate means of acquiring great riches from any thing but its territory, or from new discoveries. These are, without doubt, difficult, but they are not invincible to modern industry. It is certain, that there still remain to be made in the interior parts of Africa, in America, and in the Terra Australis, discoveries, which, though they have been often fruitlessly attempted, might yet be made with the greatest success.

The Whale Fishery.

VARIOUS have been the placarts published by the States for the regulation of this fishery, which was once entirely in the hands of a Company, but it was at last thrown into the most advantageous system that could be devised, and great success has been the consequence. The Dutch send every year two hundred and fifty ships from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Sardam, and Horn, and the consequence of it tempts a great many more. Besides the hazards of the sea, which are great, there are others which render the fishery often very unfruitful to a great number of ships. There are some that catch five whales, and others, who are forced to return with only one; a return which does not pay expences.

The ships destined for this fishery are from two to three hundred tons, and the crews proportioned to the number of chaloups which each vessel takes to search for the whales and harpoon them; each ship has four, five, six, or seven chaloups, and to each chaloup six or seven men: besides the ships which go only for the fishery, there are every year twenty-five or thirty small ships, from

from 50 to 70 tons, who go at the same time for trading upon the coasts with the savages, exchanging axes, hatchets, pots, &c. for skins and furs. But the benefits arising from the whale fishery are much diminished by the competition of the Hamburgers, Danes, and Swedes. In 1765 only 190 ships were sent, instead of 250 formerly. Art has given for some years a small encouragement to it, by employing the spermaceti, instead of wax, for candles. This part of the whale, which finds but a very moderate consumption in pharmacy, is at present dearer.

The Herring Fishery.

THIS fishery has been the cradle of the Dutch marine, and the first source of the riches of her commerce. The herring fishery has been a long time the most considerable branch of the commerce of Holland: it was therefore called the Golden Mine of the Republic, and the Great Fishery, to distinguish it from that of the whale, which was not comparable to it. M. de Wit, in writing on this fishery, asserts, that there subsisted upon it four hundred and fifty thousand persons. It has been repeated, after M. de Wit, in all the writings that

have appeared on the commerce of Holland, that the fishery brought in every year sixty-six millions of florins. Those who have considered the actual state of this fishery, look upon this valuation as a very great exaggeration; and it is one in effect, if we were to believe, that it amounted to 60 or 70 millions, divided among all those interested in the fishery, whether merchants, &c. or common fishermen. But it is not the same, if we would estimate the means of subsistence which the fishery spreads through the Republic, and the utility which this material gives to the different branches of its commerce: this is the true light in which it should be viewed for valuing it properly, and cultivating the real amount of it to the state. In this method we shall find, that the estimation of so many millions is not perhaps too excessive at present, although the fishery is infinitely decreased.

There are at present 2000 buffes of all nations employed in this fishery; those of Holland are more numerous than any other, but they do not exceed 1000 annually. It is a branch of commerce that has lost many of its advantages by the competition of France and England.*

General

General Observations.

IN England, we have been amused with so many accounts of the Dutch commerce in dictionaries, treatises, and political pamphlets, three fourths of which are copied from one another, until the first intelligence is in several instances one hundred and fifty years old, that any person used to commercial reading can hardly fail of being disgusted at it: this great fault in our authors is carried to such a pitch, that we have new books every day published, concerning Holland, which take the accounts from Raleigh and de Wit, and other writers as antient, for their guides in the present state of its trade, &c. The truth is, the Dutch commerce is much changed since the best writers flourished, who are known in England; and it is the business of a person, who travels through a country with any attention, to rectify the errors of these eternal copiers, by giving, as well as he is able, the present state of every thing. Five hundred books will tell the state of Holland in the year 1600, but I want to inform the reader how matters are in 1768. Whatever comes within the sphere of direct observation I so explain; and

what I cannot thus become acquainted with, I lay before the reader in translated extracts from new works, published abroad, and almost unknown in England; of which, during my residence in Holland, I have heard good characters for authenticity, from persons very understanding in the commerce and politics of their country.

But, before I quit the subject of the trade of Holland, I have in general to remark, that there are in England two ideas common concerning it, both which are very erroneous. Some imagine, that the commerce of the Republic is sunk to such a degree, that her decline is swift, and foretells at no long period the dissolution, or at least the subjection of the state to a neighbouring power; others on the contrary, who have heated their imaginations with the idea of the amazing commerce, and maritime power they once possessed, will not readily allow the real declension, which has undoubtedly come upon them; but consider the Republic at present, in wealth and power, upon principles that would have been just through the first half of the last century: few persons make due allowances for changes, nor will they readily steer a mean course, when extremes are so much more dazzling and brilliant. The
truth

truth is, that the Dutch yet possess a very considerable commerce: it was formerly much superior to that of England, in shipping, tonnage, value, and profit, but at present much inferior in every one of those articles, and of this there can be no doubt: it is also a fact, that for the last twenty years the trade of England has much increased, whereas that of Holland has been on the decline, if we may believe the most candid men among them: and, at the same time, that England has increased her commerce, the other powers of Europe have done the same: the French trade indeed has not, except in a few particular branches, gained any thing; but the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Danes, Swedes, and Russians, have all advanced; and, as the author quoted above justly observes, at the expence of the Dutch. This general emulation in trade continues in its full force, and even encreases every day, to the diminution of the Dutch carrying trade; and I should observe, that the declension of their commerce and manufactures has not been owing to the high rates of labour, (a point in which he is certainly mistaken) so much as to this general spirit in every country of supplying itself; were this entirely general, the Dutch common-wealth would

would sink into inanity ; there is no occasion to have recourse to the rise of prices, while a cause so much more obvious and simple equally explains it. If it is said, that the Dutch labour is dearer than formerly, I reply, that this proves nothing, unless you, at the same time, prove that all the labour in Europe is not dearer than it was formerly. This, from the encrease of money is general ; but when kingdoms and states are bent upon becoming trading nations, they do not enquire into the prices of labour in Holland, but take every measure for supplying themselves with those manufactures and products which they formerly took of foreigners.

But notwithstanding these general causes, which have and do operate towards the decline of the Dutch commerce, yet that nation is in the exclusive possession of some branches, which will continue them in a great trade, whatever opposition they may meet with : First, the spice trade, which is totally theirs, without any competition, and in value amounts to between one and two millions sterling per annum ; this is the only instance of a monopoly we meet with in the world ; and I should not omit to remark, that it shews the general amount of trade to be much less than is commonly supposed ; for
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had no such monopoly ever existed, and a supposition of one was stated, it would be imagined more than to answer the purposes of all other trades. Spice is generally used all over the world; and yet the profit of an absolute and complete monopoly does not amount, we find, to two millions a year. Some writers, of no slight credit, value it at no more than one million. If we could get possession exclusively of the sugar trade of the whole world, what a card would it be thought! much more than to make amends for the loss of others; but the fact is, that monopolies have, in their very vitals, the principles of decay: prices must and ever will be so raised that the consumption will generally decline, and the vast expences of preserving it will altogether reduce the profit to a much smaller sum than any one could previously have imagined.

However, the profit of above a million to so small a state as Holland, with the advantages of extending a monopoly in other branches of trade, is an object of very great importance, and cannot fail of tending very powerfully to support the Dutch Republic, as long as she is able to protect her trade. The herring fishery is another most important article, of which the Dutch have so
great

great a share, as not only brings in immense sums to the Republic, but also breeds them an infinite number of excellent sailors; and the same observation is applicable to the whale fishery.

Relative to the maritime power of Holland, in which capacity she used to be named in common with Great Britain, it is by some taken for granted, that the possession of very numerous mariners is the same thing as a great naval force; but this is an error; the Dutch marine is not contemptible, but, at the same time, it is infinitely inferior to that of England, and their naval military stores are by no means filled in the manner they were in the last century, when they disputed the empire of the sea with England; indeed they are so far declined, that give them whatever notice they may require, yet they would never have it in their power to revive their navy so much as to be able to face the British power at sea; with a view to this comparison they are absolutely sunk; but with a general view of the maritime force of Europe they are still somewhat respectable. Naval power depends principally on the number of good seamen; but it also depends on numerous well built ships, well provided, on ample stores and magazines, on numerous dock

dock yards, founderies, &c. and many ship-carpenters kept in constant employ; all these are as requisite as numerous seamen in the formation of a great maritime strength; and the whole will occasion so great an expence, that very considerable treasures must be at command, or a nation will never see a powerful navy, whatever number of sailors she may have.

The affairs however of the neighbours of Holland have, for many years, run in such a channel, that she has pretty well escaped from those interesting situations which threatened her neutrality: while she is able, by her negotiations, to keep neuter, the declension of her naval power will not have very bad consequences; but in case she is forced to take part in a war, then indeed her neglect of the sea might prove very fatal. The consequences, in such a case, would depend on the several circumstances and combinations arising from the part she took in the quarrel: if she joined France against England, a conduct which I do not apprehend she would ever fall into, unless forced to it by the French armies, her security against the naval power of England would depend on the potency of the united fleets of France and Holland; which union would be

be so truly unnatural, that its effects would not probably be lasting : if she joined England against France, her trade to the Colonies would be safe, and her coasts would be protected, however low her marine might be.

But if, as is most probable, she should be able to preserve her neutrality, then her navy will scarcely ever have any chance of being restored to real power ; but, on the contrary, will probably decline, until it is reduced to but a shadow of her former marine.

C H A P. VI.

*Journey through North Holland—The Country
—Agriculture—People—Voyage by the
Islands to Harlingen—Account of Frizeland—
Leeuwarden—Dockum, &c.—Agriculture.*

I LEFT Amsterdam the 25th of May, taking the boat to Sardam, which lies on the other side of the water: it is the principal town for ship-building in all the provinces, being noted, when the Dutch navy was in the height of its prosperity, for the common, though exaggerated assertion, that if you gave them six months notice, they would be ready to launch a man of war every day for a year. Here are at present great magazines of timber, masts, yards, cordage, sails, anchors, cannon, and every thing necessary for building, rigging and fitting out all sorts of ships; I counted sixteen large merchantmen on the stocks, but there are docks for building many more at a time: but here is no great appearance of the military marine, for
a man

for a man of war careening composed the whole fight. But it is not only for ship-building that this place is noted, here are many other manufactures, particularly of paper, there being many paper-mills; and they assured me, it was the most considerable paper mannfactory in all Holland? it employs more than 600 men, besides women and children: the men earn, on an average, about four florins and five stivers a week, or near seven shillings, but some of them much more: these wages seem to be about equal to the same manufacturers in England, but their living is much dearer; this is compensated by the superior frugality and sobriety of the Dutchmen, which far exceed that of our poor in England.

The number of wind-mills at this place is surprizing: those for sawing timber for ship-building, &c. are admirable contrivances, as they facilitate and cheapen work to such a degree, that it is much to be regretted we do not imitate them in England. The Dutch have had them at Sardam more than 130 years, in all which time they have found the immense advantages of the practice, and yet we in England have obstinately persevered in keeping to the hand-saw, at least forty times the expence. The only argument

ment I have ever heard advanced in its favour was, the providing employment for great numbers of sawyers, all of whom would at once be turned out of work, if mills were geneareally introduced: but this is but a seeming objection; for it is absurd to suppose, that such able-bodied men as sawyers, could remain without work; they would turn hewers and carpenters; and the cheapness of the manufacture, occasioned by the mills, would bring so much greater a consumption, that all the hands dependant on it would be increased. This was found at Holland, and particularly at Sardam; where the erecting of saw mills increased twenty fold the number of ship carpenters, and which appears by authentic registers.

Here are also many mills for grinding dying woods, and dying roots; also powder mills, of which there is a vast manufacture: these mills render Sardam a very considerable place; and their structure is so curious, that a stranger will find no where in Holland more entertainment, or stronger motives for reflection on the vast industry of the Dutch; or on the great benefit of their frugality and contrivance in manufactures, than in this village.

From Sardam I returned by water to Buikflood about noon, designing to make the complete tour of the small province of North Holland, to which I had been much advised by several Dutch gentlemen, who assured me, that I should find several objects in that track, highly worth seeing, though it was generally neglected by travellers. From this village I took the boat to Monikedam, through a country, part of it extremely pleasing, and the meadows and pastures near it, appeared to be very rich, and excellently managed; the dykes, gates, bridges, and rows of trees, with the regularity and neatness of the canal, are all highly finished in the best manner. The neatness and pleasing cleanliness of the town was such, that I determined to stay the night, instead of going on to Eidam, which is the next stage on the canal. I walked through every part of the town, to admire the cleanliness of the people, which much exceed any thing I had seen in South Holland: this retired corner of the world seems to have escaped the taint of foreign examples. My accommodation was not excellent, but passable, and rather cheap; I had an excellent dish of fish, and a bottle of claret, for about four shilling English; but Monikedam stands on the sea. I enquired

quired the price of some meadows near the town, and I found they would, if let, bring in very near four pounds an acre English.

I was in the treckſchuyt for Eidam by eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th, and arrived thither in a little more than an hour. I am quite reconciled to this mode of travelling in company; at first it was disagreeable through a want of custom, and it certainly would be constantly so in England; but among foreigners, it is much better. This place also stands on the sea: there is nothing, except the neatness of the inhabitants, that is worth observation in the town; but in the environs, there is much that calls for attention. The neighbourhood is mostly called Purmerend, that is the name of a lake, which was here formerly, but is now all drained to the circular extent of more than twenty miles circumference: there are other instances of this kind of excellent husbandry in North Holland. I spent the whole morning in taking a long walk of some miles to the rich meadows, which were once covered with water; I put many questions to the peasants, and met with much useful information. Among other particulars, they informed me, that the soil, which indeed I found by viewing the dykes, was a rich

blacky loam; composed, to appearance, of sand and clay, but more like a slime settled: the grass is admirably rich, but full of weeds: and here let me remark, that none of the Dutch, I have yet met with, seem to have any notion of true, well laid meadows: the luxuriance of the herbage seems alone to be attended to; a great swarth of hay, as I have heard the mowers in England talk of, you will find here; that is, a multiplicity of weeds; some of them rank and large, which much offends the eye: yet these meadows let at from 40s. to 5l. an acre English. Their fertility shew what is to be expected from drained lakes; we have no instance of this in Britain; yet the meres in Huntingdon and Cambridghires, and the lakes in Scotland, would surely admit of this culture: the richness of the soil may be much better judged of by the size and fatness of the cattle, than by the herbage: larger cows and sheep I never met with: they seem to be the breed, which in England they call the Holderness cow; and the sheep much resemble those of the marshes in Lincolnshire, but I think are rather larger. I was informed, that these immense cows give about four or five gallons (English) of milk in a day, at the morning and evening milking; this
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however they reckon a good cow; and she pays, in the famous North Holland cheese and butter, about eight pounds sterling annually. The cheese is well known at the polite tables in England, as well as Parmesan; but I must freely own, I think, our North Wiltshire is beyond comparison superior: besides, the Dutch eat it too new.

Here I must remark, that the products of their cows much surprized me: I have cows of my own in England of no handsome appearance, which much exceed these famous ones in Holland, in the quantity of milk they yield, although their pasture is not to be compared to this of Holland: I know not what to attribute this to, unless to the badness of the herbage in this province: But notwithstanding this inferiority, a Dutch boor, with 50 or 60 acres English, will manage to live as well, or better than an English farmer with 200 hundred acres: this is owing to frugality, and the spirit of neatness; in some instances the latter may seem to be expensive, but the saving in others much more than makes amends; this neatness and cleanliness is not only shewn in the house and furniture, but in all the farming offices; so that all the cattle, though brought up only to milk, are

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ranged regularly in a cow stall, as clean as a parlour; if I found this in May, I can easily conceive it must be the same all winter; and keeping the cattle in this manner tends wonderfully to preserve their health; and at the same time, it raises manure, of which the Dutch farmers well know the value. All the tools and implements of husbandry these boors keep in the most exact order; their scythes, spades, shovels, forks, appear like household instruments; their waggons are constantly as clean as our chariots; and this spirit of cleanliness is carried through every thing: now it must be allowed, that the Dutchman requires more time for his neatness than other country peasants do for their slovenliness; but, it answers very greatly to them; for there is much difference in the wear of any kind of tool, kept quite clean and under cover, or dirty and exposed to all weathers; from which great difference I conclude, that no time is better spent than that employed in a general neatness and cleanliness through all the parts of husbandry. That such neatness is quite rational in Holland, we may learn from its appearance equally in all objects. The farmers do not shew it only in their implements, and their cattle, but likewise in their fences, in the banks of
their

their ditches, their dykes, their walls, pales, hedges, &c. whatever the fence is, you are sure to find it in exact order; and in all public works it is equally conspicuous; the canals, bridges, dykes, &c. are all in admirable repair.

From Eidam I went out of my way to Purmerend, in order to see in that neighbourhood a famous drained country, once a great lake, called the Beemster. I went by the canal, being just two hours in the boat. The lake was drained in the year 1712, the whole work being completely finished in four years. The track of land contains 10,000 acres, of which 7000 are profitable meadow, orchard, or garden; the remaining 3000 compose villages, roads, dykes, canals, drains, &c. It is upon the whole one of the greatest curiosities in the United Provinces; the appearance is as beautiful as that of a dead flat can be; the soil is wonderfully fertile; the verdure fine; the fences perfectly neat; the rows of trees, the orchards, and the gardens numerous, and thriving; vast herds of exceeding fine cattle are seen in every part of it; upon the whole, the view of the country displays, in every particular, the mark of wealth in the inhabitants; and a richer spot is hardly to be seen. The rents

are very high, but the fertility of the soil merits it; for here are many meadows that will more than feed a large cow per acre, through all the summer, and support her in great plenty. The view I took of this, surprized me in another particular; I thought the country appeared well stocked with horned cattle, considering there is very little arable land in it, for raising winter provisions; but they informed me, that the distemper among their cattle, which had continued many years, had thinned them much; and made all the farmers very cautious in buying, and backward in laying in large stocks. They carry on a great trade in lean beasts with Denmark and Holstein; but the distemper having made great ravages through those countries, the price was not only much raised, but great hazards remained of buying infected beasts; besides which, the States had laid great interruptions on the importation, on account of the distemper; for which reasons they informed me, the country was far understocked in horned cattle; and that they had, instead of them, gone into keeping sheep much more than formerly. I made enquiries concerning the comparative profit between them; and they generally agreed,

that

that the murrain excepted, cows and beasts paid them much the best.

From Purmerend I took boat to Hoorn the 27th in the afternoon. It is a considerable seaport, with a much better harbour than Amsterdam, or any other place on the Zuyder Sea; and it possesses more trade than I expected to find so near that capital. Its herring fishery is very considerable. I made fresh enquiries here concerning it; and they agreed in their accounts, that it was vastly declined from the competition of other nations, but particularly the French. Most of the cheese, and other produce of North Holland, is exported from this place. Hoorn being once almost destroyed by a bank breaking, and letting in the sea, that element is now fenced out with one of the vastest banks I have any where seen in Holland; it is much worth viewing. My accommodation at this place was but indifferent, and the expences extravagant; but I have observed, that the Dutch landlords make hardly any difference in their reckoning between good fare and bad; travellers therefore should order the best of every thing, as they will have them nearly as cheap as the worst.

From Hoorn to Enkhuyzen, as I disliked a boat by sea, I enquired for another conveyance,

veyance, but there was nothing but a stage-waggon, so I sent my baggage by it, and walked. The road leads through a flat, rich meadow, all the way much intersected with canals and dykes. I observed, the country villagers kept their cottages as clean as in any part of Holland, and indeed it extends to such a degree of nicety, as to be perfectly entertaining to view them; this minute attention extends beyond their houses; all its environs are the same: in any little offices, or huts, the garden, the fences, the pales, the gates, and every thing you are sure to find in excellent order. The employment of the poor seemed to be principally net-making for the herring fishery; which, however it may be declined, yet employs a vast number of their poor. I made enquiry into the benefit it was of to the father of a family, by going in the buffes; and I found, that in pay, allowance, and herrings, it equalled twelve shillings a week of our money.

I took up my quarters at The Artillery Yard at Enkhuyfen. It is a town almost in the sea, being nearly surrounded by it; but from which it is defended, like Hoorn, by vast banks: canals bring small vessels into most of the streets. It is a well built town,
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and very clean ; many of the houses large and handsome, and the Stadthouse is a considerable edifice. Their trade is mostly in the herring fishery ; but they catch large quantities of salt fish, and they export much of the produce of the country adjoining ; besides these articles, they carry on a good trade to the Baltic, and build many ships ; so that altogether, it is a place of considerable business, and the merchants are rich.

To Medenblick is eight miles more ; I walked also, for the same reason as before. This is but an insignificant place ; and my inn, The City of Hoorn, a bad one ; yet being much tired with a walk of 16 miles, I staid the night of the 28th. They have a share of the Baltic trade here. The whole country is as rich meadow-land as can well be conceived ; it is much divided into little portions, the properties of distinct persons ; but some of it that is let, yields at the rate of from three to four pounds English per acre ; but this is particular pieces. There is much cattle, notwithstanding their dread of the distemper, besides great numbers of very large sheep. As my design was to pass over to Frizeland from the very Northern point of Holland, taking the Islands in my way, but at the same time to see Alkmaar, and

and the country around it, I found it was necessary to do the latter first; but I was again puzzled, as the treckschuyt goes only by Hoorn, there being only a waggon directly from Medenblick to Alkmaar; and as the very appearance of that machine was sufficient, I determined once more to take to my legs; and, though the distance is no less than seventeen miles, to make it a day's journey on foot. I sent my baggage by a Dutch skipper to Helder, in the Northern point of Holland, a little fishing town, to remain there till I came from Alkmaar. The country through which I passed, once consisted principally of lakes, but, like the Beemster, they have been all drained, and now make an excellent appearance, being all cut into rich meadows, and hardly an acre in the whole track lost. All the canals and dykes are planted with rows of trees, of which, if any thing, there are too many. The villages are thick and well peopled, and all of them carry that agreeable neatness and good order, which would alone make travelling in Holland wonderfully agreeable. The women and children were principally employed in making nets. At Broeckerfpeel, a little village which is about half way, I baited at an inn, which in England would be

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be called a hedge alehouse; but I remarked, that the house, and all the furniture, were as clean as in any other. Cleanliness is the characteristic of the people, especially of the lower ones.

I got to Alkmaar in the evening of the 29th, and fixed at the City of Amsterdam inn, where I met with extreme good entertainment, and much civility. This city is as well situated, respecting beauty, as any one can be in a country perfectly flat; it is furrounded by a great number of gardens, orchards, and rich meadows: very near it, they show a grove, which would make a figure in the best regular garden in England; it is beautiful. The streets of this city are regular, and well built, but the churches, and other public buildings, have not any thing very striking in them. Upon enquiry, I found there was neither treckschuyt, nor chaise, nor waggon to Helder; I was therefore again obliged to determine on a walk, and this was to be a long one, for the distance is 23 miles; for the first seven, I got two horses for myself and man, but no offers of money could tempt the owner to allow me to have them on, because he had business another way. The country is all thickly strewed with villages, and is exceeding rich
meadow

meadow land. Every house I saw has a garden, which the boors all cultivate extremely well; net-making goes on throughout this country.

The number of their poor, which the Dutch maintain by their herring fishery, is very considerable, and should make us, on whose coasts they go to fish, more attentive to reap advantages, which nature has laid at our doors. Our poor rates, in vast tracks of the country, run extremely high, and in others, our poor are starving for want of employment; while our more industrious and meritorious neighbours maintain themselves on our fish, and have the trouble of going 200 leagues to catch, that which we might take in our own harbours. The whole circle of European politics does not offer a more striking instance of supineness. The infinite advantages, which would attend the establishment of a great herring fishery in some of the Western isles of Scotland, that are the best situated for the business, ought to engage our government to act with more vigour in that affair. All the plans, that have been laid down by the corporation of the free British fishery, are nugatory and ridiculous. The only possible way of succeeding (and the Dutch owned to me more than once)

once) would be to build a town in the Western isles, and make it the seat of the whole undertaking. There to build all the busses and boats used, to make the nets, to establish manufactures of cordage, small anchors, &c. with yards, docks, magazines, &c. also to have the ships that carried the herrings to market, built and rigged there, and in regular employment; the coopers that made the barrels settled on the spot; also bounties should then be given for every buss, boat, or barrel of herrings; but the company should, above all, attend to provide an immediate market for all the fish caught, and salted and barrelled according to their directions, under the eye of their inspectors. It then should be their business to load their ships with them, and freight away for the Mediterranean, Portugal, and the West Indies. When once the fishermen found a certain market for all they caught, and cured honestly, their profession would encrease amazingly; new towns would rise up, and a general alacrity spread through all the coasts. This would form new markets for all the productions of the neighbouring estates, which would animate their culture; and infinitely increase the value of the land. All this is in the power, not of the King and Parliament alone, but
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of any great nobleman of considerable property in the islands. A private capital of 20,000*l.* would go further than five times that sum in the hands of a public company.

I went out of my way for the sake of viewing Schagen, a village, around which, I was informed, I should see the richest soil in Europe, and the finest meadows. I examined them attentively; it is a black, moist, deep loam, nothing can have a finer appearance; but I did not find any great difference between it and the lands in other parts of the Province. As near as I could get my information, an acre English of these meadows will more than summer-feed a large cow; some of them are let in large parcels, at 3*l.* an acre. Most of the road, from Schagen to Helder, runs on the top of a vast bank, which secures one coast of the Northren promontory; it is hardly two miles wide from sea to sea, and is as great a curiosity, I think, as any in the country. Helder is a little fishing village, very pleasantly situated. I was shewn to the inn, which was but a miserable one, however the cleanliness made amends much better than any circumstance would have done at such a place in England. On enquiry for my trunks, I was infinitely surprized and disappointed, to find that they were not arrived;

Mynheer

Mynheer Van Hoelft, the Captain of the skipper, had not been heard of since his departure; but my landlord knew him well, and he assured me, I need be in no pain for my baggage, as the wind had been contrary these four days. Necessity has no law, I was obliged to submit, and, much to the landlord's satisfaction, instead of making my passage over to the isle of Texel directly on my arrival, I was forced to spend the night at his house; however, the Dutchman provided me some soles, lobsters, and a tender chicken, with a bottle of bad claret; so I ought not to complain much of my quarters, considering the place was only a fishing village.

Early in the morning of the 31st, my Dutchman informed me, that the wind continued contrary, that I had no hopes of seeing my baggage that day; that I must make myself contented; that he would have an excellent dish of fish for my dinner, as he purposed going a fishing with his own boat; that it should be back exact at three, and my dinner should be worthy of an Emperor. The fellow, I believe, has a little foreign blood in his veins; he is not so phlegmatic as the Dutch in general; but civil, boasting, and at the same time attentive to let me see,

that he puffed only his capability of pleasing me. I liked the fellow; told him I would have a day's fishing with him; that he should take a case of claret with him, a stove, bread, sauce, &c. we would dine in his boat on the fish, fresh as they were caught. This proposal pleased him much; I ordered breakfast, and about ten o'clock we set out on our fishing scheme. The coast is well supplied; we caught fine turbot, soles, exceeding fine plaice, which, I think, are preferable to their soles; and crabs, with several other sorts; and made a delicious dinner on them, the Dutch dish, stewed in grease of Shakespear, might be the cookery of that age, but it is not of the present. I did not find oiled butter even at the lowest inns.

In the night, my friend the skipper arrived, and with him my trunks. The next morning, June 1st, I hired a sloop to carry us over to Texel, of which island I purposed taking a view. I got there in an hour, and walked to Burch, the town in it, ordering the sloop to coast thither, as I had agreed with the sailors to carry me to Flie Island, and from thence to Harlingen. The Texel is about six miles long, and four broad; the soil is a rich meadow, and in every respect like North Holland; the banks and sand hills,

hills, for defending it from the sea, are very strong and well made. At Burch is a strong fortification, with a garrison in constant duty. This island is totally fed with sheep, of which, though large, they keep four to an acre; but they do not fat them. They are principally ewes, which they milk regularly like cows, and make cheese of it; I tasted it, and wonder much that any writers should be so absurd as to call it excellent; it is very indifferent. The inhabitants apply themselves principally to the herring fishery, in which they are reckoned greater proficient than the sailors on the main land; here are also many pilots. From the Texel I passed over to the Isle of Flie, which is about nine miles long, and in some places three or four broad. The face of the country is the same as the Texel, a flat of good rich pasture, with stout banks to defend it from the sea. From hence I embarked for Harlingen, and landed there in the night of the 3d of June; taking my quarters at the Peacock inn, where I met with indifferent accommodation. The landlord shewed me on my first coming, into a sort of common room, where there were many sorts of guests. This I had met with in villages, but not in considerable towns. I told him, I must have a room to myself; he

replied in English, that he had none; upon which I ordered the best supper his town would afford, a bottle of claret, and another of white wine, on condition I had a room. This brought him to his best behaviour, and I was accommodated to my wish. This is one instance in a thousand, in which travellers receive a treatment proportioned to the money they spend; nor should those, who are apt to be too economical, condemn the inns and landlords of a country, when they mind only the keeping their money in their pockets. But whenever a tour, whether at home or abroad, is thought of, if it be on pleasure, and not merely on business, it is surely never worth while to save fifty or three score pounds in five hundred, and thereby render a very long journey disagreeable.

Harlingen is very well built, the streets are regular, and most of them have handsome canals. The harbour admits small ships into basins that are quite surrounded with houses; but those of a heavy burthen must be unloaded. There are some considerable paper manufactories, and also some fabrics of sail cloth, which are flourishing. I made an excursion or two into the neighbouring country, and found a great change from North

North Holland; for instead of the unvarying rich meadow lands of that province, here I found a great mixture of arable fields; they sow much barley and wheat, and I observed several fields of very fine clover; also others fallowing for the succeeding crop of wheat, and some for coleseed, which, they said, they should sow the latter end of the month; they use it for extracting oil from the seed. Here let me remark, that I think the Dutch are much worse arable farmers than grass ones; but at this indeed I am not surprized, for it must be much more difficult to conduct such land than meadow, which admits not of near the same variety. Some of the fallows, I observed, were kept in a manner common in England; that is cloddy, and not absolutely free from weeds; and I remarked, that the wheat crops were not clean. I am no husbandman, and shall not venture to pronounce, whether absolute garden management, respecting the entire freedom from weeds, will answer to a common farmer by more than paying the charges; but it certainly should be the aim to come as near such perfection as profit will allow; but the books of husbandry, which I have read, seem to dwell on this point as the *sine qua non*.

The pastures about Harlingen are not equal to those of North Holland.

I took the treckschuyt to Franeker the 5th of June. It is a very pretty, neat town; the buildings much better than those of Harlingen. There are many of the Frizeland nobility that usually reside here; and also an university, that has given education to some writers noted for their learning. The same day I passed on through a rich country, with much arable land in it, to Leuwarden, which is the capital of the province. It is surrounded with some slight fortifications; the streets are regular and well built, and kept very clean; and in some parts of it, are canals with rows of trees. The Prince of Orange has a palace here, which I viewed; but it contains nothing worthy of observation.

As I had a letter of recommendation to M. Sautyn, a gentleman of considerable wealth in this city, I waited on him soon after my arrival, and he was so obliging as to walk with me about the place, and explain whatever I desired to be informed of. I accepted his invitation to dine with him, and was genteelly entertained. He carried me in the afternoon a round through several villages, in his chaise; during which time he gave me
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several interesting particulars concerning the province of Frizeland.

There is a good deal of arable land in different parts of it, but much excellent meadow; upon my observing to him, that I thought the meadows in North Holland had a richer appearance than those I had seen in Frizeland; he replied that theirs might not be equal in general to those of Holland, but that many tracks were excellent, as I might judge by the horses, cows, and sheep; all these are large, but not so remarkable as Mr. Sautyn seemed to think them. The South-East part of the province is but poor land, much of it sandy, and not so well inhabited as the rest. He said, their farmers were in general reckoned very good ones, though not equal to the best in Flanders; but that they had several articles of culture in as great, or greater perfection than in that famous territory; particularly carrots and turnips. That in manufactures, Holland, &c. much exceeded them, though they possessed some considerable fabrics of woollen cloths, and also of linens: their trade was not flourishing. He remembered, he said, when there was much more business carried on at Dockum, Leuwarden, Harlingen, and Stavoren than at present; that the herring

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fishery was now the principal support of the two latter towns. I begged to know his thoughts on the reason of this declension of trade; and he said, that it was not peculiar to the province of Frizeland only, but, he apprehended, pretty generally felt all over the United Provinces; but that the immense trade carried on at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, did not allow the declension to be so visible. I observed, that the great rise and support of their Republic having been a general commerce with all countries, and of making Holland an universal magazine for all products and all commodities, that extended business depended solely on other nations not attending to trade; but when all around them were striving as hard as possible to get all they could, and every people wanted a great navigation, the case altered much, and every one grew rich at our expence. But, added he, it is you (meaning England) that have done us most mischief; we are all sensible, that our grand rival in trade is London, and every great increase of that city's commerce, is made much at the expence of that of Amsterdam, &c. But he further remarked, that their country had two other causes, to which they attributed their decline, national debts, says he, and a change
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of manners. Our national debt has rendered so many taxes, in the shape of customs and excises, necessary, that we have hardly any commerce but what is grievously burthened, and all our home consumption is rendered excessively dear; but even this has not been of half the ill consequence that the change of manners has brought about; our country was once famous for frugality, and even for parsimony; our great commerce was long founded in this, for we could afford to trade where no nation could rival us; and the close attention given to commerce, which here far exceeded what was any where else to be met with, gave us a great superiority: but now, our merchants are come into indulgences, even into luxury, which has crept in by degrees; so that dress, equipage, table, and all family expences are amazingly increased; the consequence of this is very strong and fatal; a man with an hundred thousand florins, if he lives upon the product of ten thousand, and applies that of ninety thousand annually to his trade, it is very evident, that he will be able to increase and extend his commerce, in a very different manner from what he will do if he spends the product of thirty thousand in his house, and increases his trade with only seventy thousand: but
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this, continued my friend, is a very moderate supposition; we have at Amsterdam and Rotterdam many merchants who spend a larger part of their income than they lay up, that is, than they increase their trade with. The difference between the œconomy of one conduct, and the extravagance of the other, is amazing, and a difference not only to the individuals but also to the state; for you may easily conceive, that, in exact proportion as the trade of an individual decreases, so much must the general aggregate of a nation's commerce decline also. This change of our manners is as visible in Frizeland as in any other part of Holland; we had always a nobility, that kept themselves clear of commerce; but this affectation increases every day in ten-fold proportion. These nobles have raised the rentals of their estates in a most extraordinary manner within these hundred years, and live in a more splendid way than formerly; our merchants, when grown rich, vie with them, and are fond, in this free country, of outshining them; this competition does us infinite mischief; and the raising it is all the good which a nobility does in a commercial Republic. They belong to monarchies, and ought to be confined to them: what good can a nobility do
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in a country that exists only by trade, while that nobility despise trade? I attended with great pleasure to these sentiments of M. Sautyn, which certainly abound with much truth, and a refined knowledge of the real interests of his country. Our conversation lasted till our return to the city, when taking my leave of him and his family, I set out the next morning for Dockum.

That town contains nothing that is worthy of observation, unless the bridge, which is lofty enough to admit ships full-masted under it, is reckoned such. They have something of a trade in exporting butter and cheese, of which the neighbouring country produces very large quantities, the land being chiefly disposed in pasture, and the soil rich.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Groningen — Winschooten — Happiness of the lower classes of the People in this Country — Journey to Coevorden — Accident that befel the Author which brings him acquainted with a very intelligent Dutchman — Uretcht — Boisleduc — Captain Rey's improvements on waste Land — Bergenopzoom — Journey thro' Zealand — Culture of Madder.

JUNE the 7th I left Dockum, and took the boat to Groningen, the capital town of the province of the same name. The distance is twenty one miles, through a country the chief of which is applied to grazing. The lands appear to be well managed and laid out, and kept in the same neat way that I have admired through every part of Holland. There are many villages which seem populous. This twenty-one miles took us the whole day, from interruptions of many sluices, some of which were out of order.

Groningen is a very handsome and remarkably regular built city; the streets cross each

each other at right angles, having numerous houses that make a very good appearance; and the public buildings, which is not often the case, add much to the beauty of the place. It is surrounded with a fortification, which the inhabitants reckon very strong, principally, I believe, because the outworks were designed by Cohorn. St. Martin's church is worth seeing; they have a remarkable organ in it which is shewn to strangers; and they conduct them to the top of the steeple, from whence is a very extensive prospect over the adjacent country, and well worth viewing, from its being a country chiefly of rich land, intersected with fine canals. The great square is remarkably handsome, regularly laid out, and well built. Here also, though Groningen is an inland place, is a beautiful harbour for ships, well fenced with quays, whereon is a good appearance of business. The canal that brings up these ships is a very noble one. There being other canals, which branch every way from hence, the town carries on a good trade with all the neighbouring countries; and pretty far into Germany. Upon the whole, I have not, since my arrival in Holland, seen a place that pleases me better.

June

June the 9th I left this town for Winfchooten, at the distance of twenty miles, which we also performed in the treck-schuyt, taking us up six hours. The whole country is exceedingly well peopled, being full of villages, and the land made the most of by cultivation. It is a rich soil, applied chiefly to pasturage, with some arable lands, that seem well managed; for the crops were clean, and the fallows well tilled. The people seem remarkably chearful and happy; and that neatness and regularity, which I have traced every where through the other provinces I have travelled, is strong here. This happiness and content of the lower classes of a nation make travelling remarkably agreeable; for nothing is so miserably irksome as moving through a country where the inhabitants of it are so oppressed, as to be all in poverty and rags. But these great distinctions are all owing to variations of government; arbitrary power spreads nothing but poverty and misery, but a free government blesses all the people that live under it. All the parts of Holland, through which I have travelled, are very heavily taxed; much heavier than in any country in Europe, where arbitrary power reigns; that is, a given number of people, pay more here to
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the State, and yet every body is at their ease, none oppressed, and most wealthy; should not this single circumstance teach mankind the value of liberty? Absolute power impoverishes so heavily, that the people have nothing to pay; the money torn from the people by irregularity and private oppression, amounts to infinitely more than all the wealth that goes to the coffers of the Monarch. The King tyrannizes over the nobility; the nobility over the gentry; the gentry over the tradesmen; and all of them fleece and oppress the countrymen. In such a system, from whence can property come? Nothing can exist with any security but land estates, for labour, industry, and ingenuity can create incomes only in free government sufficient to yield taxes to the state. How would a Dutch boor be able to bear so considerable share in the public levies, if he was oppressed and brow-beaten by every neighbour, his superior? As wealth is so much the idol and pursuit of all the Monarchs now in Europe, it is strange, some scheming head has not fallen upon a means of qualifying the effects of arbitrary power; not for the sake of the interests of humanity, but for an increase of their subjects wealth. The encouragement of agriculture, trade, and

and manufactures in France, carry something of this appearance, but nothing yet done has been systematical; it has been by fits and starts, and ever been rather from royal momentary bounty, than from establishing more real liberty in those points that would tend most to make people rich. The great difficulty is not the gaining a concession from the crown, but from the nobility and gentry; who had rather be oppressed by a court, than not have the power to oppress their inferiors. Winschooten is but a paltry town though fortified; but its principal strength is from its situation, having several marshes which would much incommode an army.

At my leaving Winschooten I made enquiries concerning the roads and canals thro' the province of Overijssel, and found that the principal passage was that to Amsterdam; but as I wanted to view the Eastern parts of that province, of which I had not met with any good accounts, I declined that route, and determined to go to Coevorden, which is thirty-nine miles from Winschooten. There is no canal thither, nor any public way of travelling it, but in an irregular post-waggon. I agreed with a person, to whom my landlord carried me, for

for an aukward sort of chaise, which held me and my servant, and with some difficulty my trunks ; he was to furnish me with a pair of horses and a postillion, for the sum of three and thirty florins, and I was to pay all the expences in going. The master of the chaise further insisted on our being a day and half on the journey, which he said was necessary, as the roads across some marshes were very bad ; and he said, that at Sleen, a little village in the way, I should meet with tolerable accommodation.

Early in the morning on the roth, I set out, thus provided, for Coevorden, and made our first stage to Mepsche ; to which we had a good road, through a rich country, well peopled ; but at that place we turned off into a much worse, the roads bad, and the villages but thinly scattered ; the soil was in some places sandy and poor, and in general low and marshy ; not managed and improved in that masterly manner which I had observed in the other parts of the United Provinces. Many marshes were indeed drained, but several were yet to do, that were visibly capable of the improvement. We had not left Mepsche two hours, before our chaise broke down, but fortunately it was in sight of a large farm house ; the farmer, who

proved a very civil Dutchman, was in his yard, and upon observing our distress, came to assist us. I ordered my servant to inform him, I was an English gentleman on my road from Winschooten to Coevorden; that I expected to reach Sleen by night, but feared this accident would make it difficult; that I should be much obliged to him, if he would give me what assistance he was able; and that I would readily pay him whatever he demanded. The farmer was extremely civil, ordered the horses into his barn; shewed me into his house, where he introduced me in a plain, sensible manner to his wife and his daughter; and sent away one of his sons for a neighbouring peasant, who supplied the place of a wheel-wright; but in the mean time, he entertained me with some butter-milk, eggs, bacon, and greens, with good cheese; he was an elderly man, with a countenance as expressive of an open, honest heart, as any I had ever seen. His son returned in about an hour, and informed us, that the man, who was to set our chaise on its legs again, (the axle-tree being broke) was absent, and would not be at home till late at night, and his family sent us word that he could not be with us till early in the morning. As soon as the honest farmer heard

heard this message, he turned to my man and said, let your master know, that he must be satisfied to stay where he is; my house is at his service, I cannot entertain him well, but he will be better off than at the inn at Sleen, which is a mere hovel. I had picked up Dutch enough to understand part of this discourse, and I made my acknowledgments to him as well as I could in that language. I was much pleased with my good fortune, in the accident happening so near a man that was so ready to assist me; I should have found it far more distressing with the general run of peasants.

The farmer, in the afternoon, went about his business in the fields, and I desired leave to accompany him, and take my servant with me for an interpreter. I think travellers do not attend enough to country business; not considering, that a well ordered agriculture, and improvements in the soil of a state, are one of the chief pillars of every country. It is not that gentlemen can be expected to talk or write scientifically upon matters of husbandry, the usual course of education will not admit of it, nor, perhaps, would there be any great use in it; but ignorant persons may, in the plain relation of what they see, be of service to those whose inclinations, or way of
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life, lead them to the practice of husbandry ; which is an art that was ever in much esteem among all wise and polished nations. The great objects that a traveller, especially one which proposes to publish the result of his travels, ought most to attend to, are those, which have the greatest probability of being useful to his own country ; these are the laws, and their effects ; which, however, can seldom be accurately investigated, unless the stay in a foreign country is of some duration ; the trade, its rise, progress, and decline ; the manufactures, the same ; and, as I have just observed, if they would give some attention to agriculture, I see not where the harm would be ; on the contrary, it might prove, in many cases, useful. It is in conformity with these ideas that I have, during my stay in Holland, made several enquiries concerning the state of husbandry, whether of pasturage or arable land, and was I skilled in the art, my enquiries would be more pertinent.

My friend, the farmer, informed me, that he hired his farm of the Count of Zencyle, and that he paid at the rate of six florins an English acre ; but then he had much land of a very indifferent quality. The whole of his farm equalled 160 acres English, as near as I could compute. He had pasture and arable,

as well as marsh and sandy waste in his farm, and also another piece of land, of large extent, partly belonging to him. I could not clearly comprehend his meaning, but should apprehend, that it is the same, in fact, as an English common, the right of which is in several farmers, but no cottagers. As we walked over a piece of poor, sandy ground, I asked him, if he could not improve that soil; he replied, it was already very valuable to him, for the fallow year yielded him, without any tillage, a great crop of fern. This I thought was very strange husbandry, as I had usually heard that plant represented in England as a pernicious weed; but he explained himself by saying, that the fern served him in the most ample manner for bedding his cattle in their winter stalls. He observed, that this piece of sandy land yielded a very large quantity of manure by this means for his better lands, and, at the same time, that his cattle were better bedded than with straw only that they wasted in feeding. This made me enquire of him, if he always kept his cattle in houses in the winter. The old man seemed surprized at this question, and asked me, where I supposed he kept them. I told him, that in England, all our farmers keep their cattle in the fields, during winter, as well as

summer. This he could not well comprehend. He informed me, that all the cattle of this country, old and young, and of all sorts, were regularly kept in house through the winter. I asked him, if this did not prove a very expensive management. He replied, no: but if it was more expensive, it would be absolutely necessary; first, for the good of the cattle; as they would, he asserted, be pinched so with the frosts in winter, that twice the common quantities of food would be insufficient to keep them in heart; and such beasts, as were very tender, he thought, would not outlive a winter in the fields. But, says the old man, where is your dung raised, if the cattle in England are in the fields all winter? This was a question, the propriety of which struck me, and for which I was not prepared with an answer; and the farmer, seeing, I suppose, my ignorance, went on: by keeping our cattle housed, we not only preserve them in good health, but also raise a large quantity of manure, wherewith we improve those fields that will probably pay the best for it. It is very common, said he, to feed the cattle with hay, turnips, and winter-cabbages, and to bed them at the same time with straw; but those among us, who have fern on our lands, give the straw to our cattle

cattle of inferior value, and bed all sorts with fern, which we find an improvement of the most valuable kind; for it enables us to substitute straw as food for much of our stock, instead of hay. Another material point is the value of the dung; we find, from experience, that fern makes better manure than straw; inso-much that two loads of dung, made with fern, is equal in value to three made with straw. Fern manure will last much longer in the soil than that of straw. I considered all this information concerning fern as very valuable; for I well remember, that in England, a great deal of fern grows on very extensive commons, and that no use is made of it; it is left to rot in the commons and warrens, as if impossible to be turned to any good use; but, I am afraid, that if the facts, which have been urged to me by this Dutch husbandman, were stated ever so clearly to our English farmers, they would make no sort of impression on them, but would disdain to take any such lesson.

This very intelligent farmer assured me, that he was the more attentive to this application of his fern, because he found that the goodness of his crops depended entirely on the quantities of such manure used. He said, he should not be able to make any profit

by his farm, if he neglected the article of raising as much dung as possible in the winter. He used not only his fern for this purpose, but made great use of a very marshy bit of land he had, which was so wet that no cattle could get to it, except for about two months in the height of summer; this piece yields him a vast crop of rushes and flags, to the amount of several waggon loads. He applies them to the same use as his fern, that is, for bedding his cattle, and finds an equal advantage in it. Another circumstance he informed me of, and which I think may be useful to mention, is a method he has in the management of his dung; at the same time that he beds his cattle with fern or rushes, he strews sand among them, in pretty large quantities: what the purpose of this was, I could not conceive, till he explained it. It is for encreasing the quantity of manure, and also the quality of it, by absorbing all the urine; and he said, that it was not of the least prejudice to the cattle. I must own this practice struck me; I had never heard of any similar one in England, but yet, it might be there imitated with profit. The management of his sheep is exactly upon the same plan; for instead of folding them in the fields, as is the custom in England, he, all winter

winter long, forms his fold adjoining to his barn, and litters them in the same manner as his cows.

The old man, observing me very attentive to his conversation, extended his walk to shew me his crops, which seemed to be very good; he had fields of most sorts of common grain, and one or two of buck wheat, which he said was very profitable. The only peculiar one, not known in the fields of England, was carrots; he had a long field of them, in which he had a large parcel of women and children weeding. This, he said, was the most profitable crop on his farm. Night coming on, we returned to his house, where his wife and daughter had been preparing supper; it was common fare, but good of the sort, and I eat it with the greater pleasure, as I observed that the cleanliness of the house was truly Dutch. I gave my man orders to take care that the chaise was well mended early in the morning, and retired to rest in a clean bed, much pleased with my reception. I took an early breakfast before my departure, and gave my worthy friend a purse of florins with more pleasure than I had a long time parted with money. He was extremely thankful, and we pushed on for Coevorden, to my no small satisfaction in
escaping

escaping the inn at Sleen. The country we travelled through is indifferent, not rich, and much marsh land; we did not arrive at Coevorden till at noon of the 11th. It is situated in a low marsh, which renders it, with its fortifications, a place of much strength, being esteemed one of the keys of the United Provinces. In the war of 1672 it proved so, for the Bishop of Munster, making himself master of it, decided the campaign. It is not otherwise a place of any note: there is a manufacture of thread in it, which employs many poor women and children.

From Coevorden I agreed for another chaise to carry me to Zwoll, the distance 35 miles. Being forced to come again into the terms of lying on the road, though I could find I was not to expect good accommodations. I breakfasted at Hardenburghs, and reached Ommen in the afternoon; where I was agreeably disappointed by finding a very decent inn. The town stands pleasantly on a river. All this line of country is marshy, and some of it poor; but the road runs on higher and better grounds. It is not, upon the whole, an agreeable country, though, since I left Winschooten, it varies from any other I had seen in Holland. On the 13th in the morning

morning I got to Zwoll, which is a considerable place ; it lies between two rivers, and has a branch that runs through the town. It is well built, the streets regular, and there are several public edifices, that will catch the attention of a stranger. The fortifications are the greatest ornament to it, from being planted regularly. From Zwoll I took a regular post chaise to Deventer, the distance twelve miles. This is a rich country, and very well kept, but there are some marsh lands and sandy tracks within sight at several places. I went to the Crown inn, where I met with pretty good accomdation, but dear. Here is a tolerable appearance of trade, though nothing in comparison of what it once possessed when a Hanse Town. There are many people of fortune make it their residence, which renders the town chearful, and the more agreeable to strangers; but the public buildings have nothing in them deserving notice, though strangers are shewn an uncommon old tower of great antiquity, the walls of which are near twenty feet thick ; a notable fortification before that destructive compound with salt-petre was invented.

The next morning I went to Zutphen, which is eight miles further. The country

is but indifferent. On some rich, sandy loams they have tobacco here; which being an unusual product of husbandry in Europe, and what I had no where seen, I stopped to observe it. They dig their lands into three feet ridges, and set the crop in rows. They say, it requires very rich land, and that it does much mischief to all the country where cultivated, for it robs all other lands of manure, and at the same time exhausts the soil in a very extraordinary degree. They did not reckon it, these circumstances considered, more profitable, or but little so, than common husbandry. Zutphen is situated in the midst of drained fens, but is nevertheless reckoned by the inhabitants to have a very wholesome air. It is a large and well built town, and strongly fortified; the public buildings are handsome, and deserve notice, particularly a bridge over the river Berks. The old church is a fine building, and the steeple very high; all the towns in Holland have their Stadthouses as well as Amsterdam, but many of them are very mean edifices, like our Town-halls in English corporation towns, which are generally heaps of rubbish. This however of Zutphen deserves notice.

The fourteen miles from Zutphen to Arnhem, by Doefburgh, is through various sorts
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of lands, but some of them very indifferent. I was informed, that most of the county of Zutphen, and a great part of Guelderland, consisted in general either of marshes, heaths, or but half improved sands, which much surprized me; for I had conceived, that the United Provinces were so thickly inhabited, that almost every spot was richly cultivated; but the case is, the people are very unequally distributed; the province of Holland is full of cities and towns, and every inch cultivated, but these parts, being much more out of the way of trade, are not so thronged with people. Arnheim is a very fine city, extremely well built, with several beautiful streets. It is the residence of many persons of fortune and distinction, who support themselves without the assistance of trade. The place is very lively, having a greater air of cheerfulness and ease than most I had been in of late. My quarters were at the Peacock inn, which is kept by a Frenchman, who has a smattering of English. I was treated well here, and served with a table that almost deserves the epithet of elegant, and yet the expence was not extravagant. From this place I made an excursion to see Loo, the famous favourite seat of King William. The whole is a vile country, all heaths and forests,

rests, and in the midst of which stands the palace. It contains nothing that figures much to an Englishman, who has viewed the fine buildings in his own country. The gardens are what the Dutch most admire; but these are quite in the old stile, with water-works, basons, and regular cascades; but the shady walks they shew you with some ostentation, and they are indeed very well planted, and the trees large, but all is clipt and regular. Rosendall is in the same taste, but the building highly ornamented. Another excursion I made was to Nimeguen, on the canal which is cut strait between these cities, at their joint expence. It is a large and considerable city, strongly fortified, being considered as one of the keys of the United Provinces, and is the capital of that of Guelderland. It is very populous, having several manufactures that are flourishing. There are ten churches in it. St. Stephen's the principal, in which is a very fine monument of Catharine of Bourbon, wife to Adolph VII. Duke of Guelder. The Stadthouse is a considerable edifice, but has nothing elegant in it. From the old castle there is a very beautiful prospect of the adjacent country. This place is much noted for the treaty of peace between the French
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and the allies in 1678, of which Sir Wil-
Temple has left so excellent an account.

Early on the 17th I left Arnheim, on my
way to Utrecht. It is two and thirty miles,
through an extreme pleasant, and much of it
a rich country, abounding with seats and
villas. It is well peopled, and seems rich.
Utrecht is one of the first cities in the United
Provinces; it is spacious, and very populous,
and excellently situated in a beautiful coun-
try. The chief streets, which are regular
and well built, are cut through with canals:
the new Gratch and the Vaert run through
the whole city, having no less than five and
thirty bridges over them. The edifices on
the former would do credit to any city in
Europe. The square is spacious, and is the
centre of several regular streets, that cut one
another at right angles. Utrecht is longer
than the Hague, and next to it, is the prin-
cipal residence of the nobility, and all polite
persons who live on their private fortune;
besides which advantages, it is the capital of
the province of the same name, and where
the sovereign courts are held. The cathe-
dral is in ruins, nor is there any other public
buildings that deserve notice. The steeple
of this cathedral is however one of the highest
in Holland, and from it I had the satisfaction
of

of viewing an amazing prospect over Five of the Seven Provinces, and a great way further towards Cleves in Germany. They shewed me above fifty walled towns in the neighbourhood, none of them more than a day's journey from this city. Utrecht is the seat of a flourishing university, in which are great numbers of students from various parts, particularly from Germany and the North of Europe. One of the most agreeable spectacles here, is, what they call their Mall, from that of St. James's park. It is near three quarters of a mile in length, with four large parallel walks with rows of trees: here the best company in Utrecht parade backwards and forwards, especially on Sunday evenings in summer. The environs of the city are perfectly agreeable, being full of gardens, orchards, canals, and walks; but the soil is too sandy for the rich verdure of meadows, and therefore there are arable fields very near the city.

I took my leave of Utrecht on the 20th, and went by the treckschuyt to Vyann, in my way to Boisleduc. This is a little town of an agreeable appearance, which does not belong to Holland, but to the Counts of Brederode. The air is reckoned remarkably clear and fine; but this may be occasioned by

by many people retiring here under pretence of the air, but really from very different motives. It is very troublesome to the Dutch. The country is most of it sandy. Gorcum is the next stage, and is situated on the river Waal; it is pretty strongly fortified. They are famous here for fresh water fish; I had as fine tench for my dinner as ever I saw, and the price is moderate. From hence it is 20 miles to Boisleduc, through Worcum and Huefden, both which places are fortified. The country is all indifferent; but even the worst soils, and the most uninteresting natural views, are rendered pleasing by the great spirit of neatness and regularity which is every where found.

Boisleduc is one of the grand frontiers of Holland, being extremely well fortified by art, and better still by nature. It is situated on a rising ground, in the midst of an extensive marsh, through which there would be no possibility of approaching it, were there not causeways made, and these are strongly fortified by redoubts. The town is five miles in circumference, being on the confluence of the three rivers, Domel, Aa, and Drese; and its ditches are filled by their waters, which contribute much to the strength of the place. These rivers form several very fine

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canals, which run through the heart of the city: over these there are fifty stone bridges. Ten good streets center in the principal square, which has a fine effect; but this square is surrounded by timber buildings, which are mean. As to public buildings, the church of St. John is a very noble one; but the clock, which they shew with much ostentation, is not so greatly striking. The Stadthouse is a handsome edifice, raised on the plan (but much smaller) of that at Amsterdam. Here are several very flourishing manufactures, particularly in the linen and woollen way; and some of knives and other hardware, and also of needles. I made enquiries into the state of these fabrics, and the report I had was more favourable to them than usual; most of them being in a successful state. The linen trade is not so flourishing as formerly, but, I believe, even that has no reason to complain. The country, for some miles to the South East of this town, has many extensive tracks of waste land, which would well answer cultivation: but the inhabitants do not in general seem much attentive to such business, notwithstanding the success of certain individuals, who have attempted it. Amongst these, there is a Captain Rey, of whose great undertakings I had

had read in two or three books lately published in Holland. This gentleman is settled at Tillebourg, twelve miles from Boissleduc. I took a journey thither, purposely to view his improvements: the history of which is this. In the neighbourhood of that town are very extensive heaths, that are common, the appearance of them not at all inviting, and the value to the public contemptible. M. Rey, of the regiment of Pepin, petitioned the States of Boissleduc for a grant of a part of these heaths, engaging at the same time to cultivate them. His request was refused, from that little spirit of raising difficulties, which is so often found to arm against those who ever purpose any novelties. A year elapsed after this refusal, when, by some means or other, the knowledge of this affair was so spread, that it came to be debated in the States General; where a member, sensible and worthy, I doubt not, proposed, that the Captain's petition should be complied with, as an object that tended evidently to the public good. It was at once agreed to, and Captain Rey put in possession of the lands he had desired.

It is a mistake in several writers to say, that this gentleman executed all his works merely with his pay as a Captain; for I had it from his own mouth, that he began with a

small private fortune, which was of great use to him, more in gaining him credit for the sums he wanted to borrow, than in the application of that particular amount. This fortune, however, was but inconsiderable.

Upon my arrival at this gentleman's farm, I ordered my servant to inform him, that I was an English gentleman on my travels, and having heard much of his great improvements, was come from Boisseduc purposely to desire permission to see them. The Captain came himself to my chaise, and very politely desired me to alight, telling me that he would shew me what little matters he had done with the greatest pleasure, and immediately conducted me to his house. It was about one o'clock; the Captain said, he should dine presently, and in the interim desired permission to shew me his chateau, and his farming offices.

All these, he informed me, he had built by degrees, for that not a stone was to be seen before he began his works. The house is small, but substantial, consisting of a little passage in the center, and a parlour on each side; one is the common room, and the other for company; behind these is a kitchen, and an adjoining room for his work people, with some other conveniencies; and over all four
bed-

bed-chambers. He has a large barn, two stables, three houses for cows, and some other inferior offices, surrounding a square court near the house. When he had shewed me these buildings, he returned to dinner; a flight but genteel repast provided, not expensive, but frugal. The Captain is a man of sense, and has seen enough of the world to avoid that very false politeness of apologies, I give you, Sir, said he, addressing himself to me, good bread, good beer, good wine, and good cheese; as to all the rest, I attend no further. This is certainly the sensible line of life; a man may always have these in store, so as not to be put to a nonplus if any stranger calls upon him. I have heard this language more than once in England, but never till now beheld the conduct really existing, and reduced to practice. The conversation turned upon agriculture, and the Captain's improvements. "When I came here, Sir, said he, I found all an open common, covered with bushes, fern, and other trumpery, without one inclosure, or a single advantage that I could apply to use. I first erected one half of this house, in which I resided while all the other works were going on. I began with a pair of horses and a yoke of oxen, with which I broke up a field of ten acres.

I could have managed a larger undertaking, but the fences were not completed, for I have ever made it a rule of conduct, to inclose completely the piece of land I designed to improve. I have observed some waste lands in France, attempted to be improved, without attending to this rule, but never with success. My crops upon my first inclosure were good, and gave me courage to proceed with spirit in my undertaking. I should have been better able to encounter the difficulties I met with, had I been more practised in husbandry; but for want of experience, I made blunders at the very beginning of my undertaking, for I was too eager after profit in sowing corn, whereas the first business ought to have been the raising winter food for cattle; and this, said he, ought to be the great object in all beginnings." I did not comprehend this reasoning, as it appeared to me, that raising what would buy food for cattle, was in effect raising that food; however, as M. Rey continued his observations, I did not interrupt him for an explanation. "The year following I enclosed two fields, each of ten acres, which I was forced to grub up, to bring the land into order for the plough to work in. This was a great and an expensive work; and I made it the more so,

so, from trying an experiment in cutting the surface of a part for burning it, from the practice of a French nobleman, who has published a work on improvements of waste land. The soil also being sandy, I was much troubled in making the fences; my method was to cut a ditch, and plant a live hedge of hornbeam on the bank, which, you will see, has at last answered perfectly well; but the expence of defending it, while young, with the rubbish that was cut from the heath, I found considerable. I purchased this year three cows, and began to think myself a considerable farmer. In this manner, Sir, I continued a gradual increase of cultivated land for five years, making also occasional additions to my live stock, to my servants, and also to my buildings; and it pleased God to prosper my undertaking, that I then found but little difficulty in getting credit for twenty thousand florins, which enabled me to enlarge greatly my undertakings. The year following, I borrowed as much more, and the expenditure of that sum, with the annual one of my own savings, brought my works in such forwardness, that from that time I have had, not only an increasing, but a profitable farm. I have been for some time paying off gradually those incumbrances, and

shall soon be perfectly free on that head. A little experience pointed out my first errors, and the way to avoid them. I made it a point to increase my cattle, as fast as I was able, and could do that only by bringing my lands to bear grafs. The common meadows require a rich foil, I therefore adopted the artificial ones. I tried Lucerne, ~~es~~parcette, clover red and white, spurry, &c. In Lucerne, I have never done any thing, except in one small piece of rich land, that had been manured in a more ample manner than I could possibly afford, if I had extended the culture of it: the great red clover and spurry have been my principal friends; for I may truly say, I have had more assistance from them, than from any other branches of my cultivation. Turnips and carrots I have principally depended on for the winter subsistence of my cattle; and I find, that they prepare well for the grasses. By adhering to the modes which I have found most advantageous, I have no doubt of continuing to increase my profit. Nor should I forget to observe to you, Sir, that I have found no slight assistance in my undertakings from a little settlement I have on my land, of five Palatine families, by whose means, at the same time that I have been a good friend to them,

them, they have done much in returning it; so that we are truly the better for each other." I here remarked to him that I should suppose, the success of such undertakings, on whatever scale they are carried on, must depend very much on peopling the wastes, designed to be improved; for without plenty of hands, how are improvements to be carried on? "Very true, he replied, and I am convinced from my own experience, that nothing would answer so well to their High Mightinesses, as the settling poor German families on the numerous and extensive wastes which are in the provinces of Zutphen, Guelderland, Breda, and Overijssel, for they would presently make them well cultivated provinces; but improvements of these wastes must be made by private persons, for such cannot well prosper in the hands of the public."

The Captain shewed me the principal parts of his farm which lye very agreeably around his house; it is a very pleasing one to view, for the fences are new made, regular, and kept in excellent order. The crops, I observed, were all free from weeds, and every field appeared in good condition. What a practical farmer would pronounce on them, I know not, but I own, M. Rey appears to
me

me to be an excellent husbandman. He was entirely hospitable, for he insisted on my staying all night, which I complied with, as I thought his conversation was uncommonly sensible and instructive. I could not leave him without reflecting on the great things, which may be executed by the force of industry and perseverance. Captain Rey's estate, on the wastes of Tillebourg, is a new creation; several families are supported by that land, which before did not yield enough to keep a sheep. This is by no means to be considered singly as a private acquisition, the State reaps probably more profit from it than the individual; for increasing the value of the earth's products, is encreasing the national wealth: and what acquisition can be more valuable than that of new industrious subjects? The States of the country, who rejected M. Rey's petition, must now be convinced of the practicability and the profit of improving these wastes, and the States General have plainly shewn their sagacity in granting it. But what is very astonishing, this bright example has had scarcely any effects, except one or two instances of improvement which I heard of, but in such a confused manner, that I could hardly make out whether it was on new or old inclosures.

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Is it not amazing, that M. Rey's great success, should have no followers? I apprehend, that gentlemen, in a similar state, are afraid of attempting such undertakings, lest they should either be losers by them, or perfect slaves to the work; and indeed while persons are ignorant, it must require a certain enthusiasm in the mind to carry a man through all opposing difficulties, till success hath secured and crowned his wishes.

Tillebourg, though out of the direct road to Breda from Boisleduc, was now my nearest way to it, I therefore took my leave of the Captain, thanking him very sincerely for his hospitality, and made the best of my way to Breda the 24th. The road leads mostly through uncultivated heaths, that require such spirits as M. Rey's to improve, and would doubtless repay their attention equally as well. Breda deserves the traveller's attention. It is one of the strongest towns in Holland; the fortifications are very regular, and kept in excellent repair; the situation of the place is low, for the sea can be let into the ditches, and from thence over much of the country, which must render an army's access to it very difficult. The whole barony and town belongs to the Prince of Orange, who is the Sovereign, and has a modern built
castle

castle for his residence when here, with gardens, and a small park. It is a large place, populous, and well built. From Breda I went the 25th to Bergenopzoom, which is twenty miles, through a much richer country. This city is large, and the streets regular; the church and the palace were fine buildings before the siege in 1747. The market place is very large and handsome, but the fortifications are the principal objects in it. The Dukes of Parma and Spinola, both found them too strong for all their power, which gave it the title of the Virgin fortress, and impregnable; for as such it was reckoned before Marshal Lowendahl came before it. It stands in the midst of marshes; so that every advantage of situation is united with those of Cohorn, as he was long employed to construct whatever works about it he thought necessary for making it as strong as possible. A canal keeps open a communication with the sea; and to defend this canal, there are redoubts, forts, palisadoes, &c. without number, and a village strongly fortified in the midst. In a word, nothing was spared to secure to it its pretences to being impregnable; and it is the general opinion in Holland, that it really is so; and that the French would

would never have taken it with their cannon, unless they had loaded them with golden balls.

Having dined, and finished my view of Bergem, I took boat for Goes, in the island of South Beveland, in the province of Zeeland, where I put up at the Golden Lion, which is but an indifferent inn, and the people not very civil. The next morn, I made an excursion to view the island, which is about fifteen miles long, and half as broad. The land all lies low, and is defended from the sea by high banks. The soil is extremely rich, but not all applied to pasturage. I saw much corn, which appeared to be very fine and clean; and also some large fields of madder, which is a particular article of culture in this country, which they follow very assiduously, and from whence madder is called Zealand madder. It grows on flat lands, formed into regular oblongs by small trenches, and in rows about a foot asunder; it is a straggling odd plant; yet I remarked, that they keep it very clean, by weeding and hoeing, for I could scarcely see a single weed in a large field. They informed me, that it is three years in the ground, unless the growth

growth is extraordinary, and in such case two are sufficient; the valuable part is the root, which, when dried, makes a very fine dye: they esteem it more profitable than any other article of husbandry, but are forced to pick their land for it, as it will succeed only on certain soils: the great point is to find pieces dry enough for it, and at the same time extremely fertile, for no land can be too rich for it. Great quantities of madder are exported from most parts of Zealand to London, as the growth does not succeed in England, notwithstanding all the endeavours that have been used to raise it.

From Goes, I went by water to Middleburgh, which is the capital, not only of the island of Walcheren, but also of all Zealand. It is one of the most considerable cities in the United Provinces, being very large and well built; the streets are broad, regular, and very well paved; the public edifices striking, and some of them magnificent. Here are twenty churches, among which the new church figures most; it has a very handsome cupola, and great merit in the architecture. Merchant vessels come into the center of the city, by means of a canal from the sea; so that Middleburgh enjoys a very considerable commerce, particularly

larly in Spanish and French wines, which are reckoned the staple of the place. I made an excursion through the principal part of the island, which was not a disagreeable employment for a day. It is a rich, low, flat country, applied to raising both corn and pasture; and it abounds also with madder; but they seem to plant it in a different manner from what they do in Beveland. I made some enquiries into culture here, as I had done there; and found that they reckon that a common crop from an English acre, will produce from three to four hundred florins in value, if it is in the ground three years; this is about thirty or forty pounds; but then the expences of the management run very high, and they manufacture it, for which several considerable buildings are necessary, before it is marketable. But notwithstanding these circumstances, they esteem it a more profitable article than either corn or grass. From Middleburgh, I set out on the 27th for Bruges, through Dutch Flanders; the part I travelled, was not equally fertile in appearance, nor so agreeable as I had been given by the books to understand, but towards the Austrian Province it improves greatly. And here, as I conclude my journey through the dominions

dominions of the States General, it will be necessary to make some observations, and give a general review of several particulars concerning the Dutch, not sufficiently explained in the preceding chapters.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Manufactures of Holland.

IT is not only that general trade of buying and selling, which has enriched to so great a degree this country, but it is fuller of manufactures than any other in Europe. The Dutch have numerous fabrics, which they work up from the products of all their neighbours, and of all parts of the world; these they vend in their general trade; and and this traffic is one of the principal pillars of their state. I have, in various passages, in the preceding accounts, given the result of my enquiries on this head, at the manufacturing towns through which I passed; but there remains some general remarks to be laid before the reader, in order that he may have the better idea of the present state of the Dutch manufactures; and this I shall do by taking some extracts from a very good account of them, which has been lately published in Holland, and which has not appeared in the English language.

“ Holland has been the seat of manufactures without doing any thing actively to attract them. Workmen from every country, molested in their persons, their estates, or their religion, have taken refuge here, with their abilities and their industry; this industry has sustained them in a state greatly flourishing, as long as the low price of labour would allow a profit sufficiently great in the sale of their fabrics. In the last age, it is certain, that there was no place comparable to Holland, for numbers of flourishing manufactures. In the principal cities of the province of Holland, were found the finest and richest fabrics of all sorts, of stuffs, of silk, in every variation of gold, silver, &c. of wool, and linens of all sorts, colours, and dyes, the finest and most rare; ribbons and laces of gold, silver, and silk, velvets, gauzes flowered and plain, tapestries, leathers gilt, &c. All these manufactures exist at present, but with less éclat than formerly: they are, especially in those of wool, silk, gold, and silver, rivalled by the competition of Genoa, Venice, France, and England. They make at Amsterdam, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, brocades, taffeties, mohairs, shalloons, velvets, and plushes. They imitate at Haerlem, many of the different kinds
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and designs of stuffs at Lyons ; for they have never possessed, in these manufactures, the art of designing, which embellishes and enriches annually those of Tours, and principally those of Lyons, by a great variety, and by the graces of taste and novelty. These manufactures, and those of woollen stuffs, at Leyden and Utrecht, which have for some time enriched their exportation, had not their birth in Holland, but were brought there by refugees. A general toleration, and a certain asylum, have enriched Holland with the industry of other nations, and especially with that of the French ; and the prodigious extent of the Dutch commerce, joined to their intelligence and refined œconomy, have given to the manufactures of these refugees, a reputation which has insured a great sale of all the productions of their industry, and from thence brought them continually nearer to perfection. This reputation has been such, that it has not been uncommon for the velvets manufactured at Milan, to be sent to Holland, and from thence re-exported to Milan, for the Holland velvet ; to which, besides the expence of freight and commission, this reputation alone would add a new value.

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“The stuffs of Holland have supported for a long time the competition of those of Lyons, and above all of those of Paris, in spite of the great variety, taste, and the beauties of design, in the fabrics of Lyons, which have for a long time decided the superiority in all manufactures of silk. The silk stuffs of Holland have been sought for in France for a great number of years, on account of their solidity, and especially by those who do not change with the mode. For in this atticle, such has been the extravagance of the fashion, that it every year receives imperious dictates from the fabrics of Lyons, by introducing new taste and new designs.

“Manufactures have resisted for a long time in Holland, the excessive abundance of the currency, which commerce has, without ceasing, accumulated, and which has necessarily become the scourge of their manufactures, particularly of those which require the most labour and industry, or which are not supported by a great internal consumption, as the silk stuffs. The sobriety of the Dutch, and that of the French, become the same in Holland; and the small profits, with which the Dutch merchants are contented, have sustained for a long time those manufactures in a flourishing state. But the
deariness

dearness of labour, occasioned by the abundance of money, and the taxes upon houses, and upon all the necessaries of life, has much hurt their manufactures, and even tends towards their destruction. There remains however, some small silk fabrics at Haerlem, which the interior consumption maintains; but which are weakly animated, from the competition of the similar manufactures of France, and which it is very difficult for the republic to prevent the entry of. The other wrought stuffs richer, from a more complicated labour, have in many places stopped, even for the home consumption, in favour of those of France; and which is owing more to the cheapness of the latter, than to superiority of taste, design, or exactness in the execution of them.

“ Commerce has rendered lace important, and industry has perfected the art of making it. It is become the ornament, and the display of riches, after having been one of the signs of poverty: nevertheless, shew alone would not support the custom, but there is a kind of œconomy extended to laced cloths. The luxurious expence is more considerable in those that are plain. The French, who know well how to be industrious, and to render their industry of value, have given to

their lace manufactures all the advantages of the greatest reputation, particularly for lightness, brilliancy, design, and taste. Paris believes herself to be unrivalled in her gold laces, and Lyons in those of silver. The city of Amsterdam has endeavoured to partake of these advantages.

“ It is generally agreed, that it is the thread of the silver of Lyons, which gives the lace the greatest whiteness and brilliancy: they attribute this superior quality of their thread over that of Paris and Amsterdam, to the waters of the Rhine, by which the workmen can only give a blueish white; and they pretend, that this is the reason which gives to Lyons the exclusive privilege of trading in the finest silver thread. It is not the same with that of gold. That of Paris and Amsterdam have different qualities: the colour of the Paris gold is more solid; that of Amsterdam has more of the vermillion, more éclat; and the Paris gold being weightier, is dearer than that of Amsterdam, and, in fine, has established her lace at a higher price, without deserving to be more valued, all other things being equal. The lace fabrics, which are at present very few in number, draw their gold thread from Amsterdam, and their silver from Lyons; but their laces
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can hardly support the competition with those of France. It is yet, nevertheless, a branch of foreign commerce, particularly the gold thread of Amsterdam.

“ The cloth manufactures of Leyden and Utrecht, support their reputation: the superfines are as good and as fine as those in foreign manufactures, and the blacks of Utrecht are always superior; the camlets of Leyden equal those of Brussels. There are of this sort two manufactures united. The ratteens preserve also their antient reputation; but the dearness of these manufactures reduces them entirely to the home consumption. There is a difference between these fabrics and those of France, of the countries of Limburg, Verviers, Aix la Chapelle, and Juliers, of nine or ten per cent, which is in foreign markets an immense disadvantage to the manufactures of Holland; this disadvantage to them is in common with those of England in the same kinds.

“ The necessities of commerce have introduced among all maritime nations manufactures of cordage, and it is without doubt one of the most antient in Holland. Riga, Koningburgh, Memel, and St. Petersburg, furnish almost all nations; and it is more in

this cordage, that the Dutch trade with the Southern nations, than in their own manufactures, which can scarcely furnish the immense consumption of their own marine.

“The manufactures of linens in the provinces of Groningen, Frizeland, and Over-ysfel, are always equally supported. The fabrics of France, Flanders, and Germany, make none that even approaches them. The linens which are called Dutch, are distinguished as much by the whiteness, the fineness, the grain, the equality, and the goodness, as by being measured by the ell, or the manner of folding; the most famous whitening grounds in Europe are at Haerlem; they give to their linens the lustre and fine white that distinguishes them; they also enable the Dutch merchants to appropriate to themselves foreign manufactures, which they buy in Westphalia, in the country of Juliers, in Flanders, and in Brabant, and which being whitened at Haerlem are produced in commerce under the name of Dutch linens; for this whitening adds a new price to the linen when it is of a good fabric; they take care in this whitening, without the assistance of any regulation, not to give to the linens an artificial length, as we know is done in the whitening grounds of

of Flanders, by rolling them on boards : a lucrative article, but which degrades their linens by entirely altering their quality ; they turn them at Haerlem only by hand, and they use the ashes of the very best quality.

“ The manufactures of paper are in a flourishing state. It is surprizing, that they have been able to sustain themselves, since they have been multiplied so greatly in France, and in the Austrian Provinces ; and especially in countries, where the price of labour is low, which is a vast advantage in a manufacture that employs a great number of hands. These manufactures, which have been recently raised and multiplied, have given a sensible stroke to those of Holland, since the exportation of rags, of old linen, (which is the raw material) has been vigorously prohibited in France, and the Austrian Provinces. It is nevertheless one of the most precious manufactures which the republic has, as well for the home consumption, which is immense, as in furnishing an exportation ; and this manufacture supports itself as well as others, for this very simple reason, the manufacturers content themselves with a very small profit, having no better means of making greater by their money.

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“ The exportation of money from Europe for paying for the manufactures of India, (an exportation which is a reproach to the trade) is already much diminished, and decreases every day by the progress of industry of the same sort in Europe. We ought hence to regard the manufacture of porcelaine as one of the most precious to Europe. Among the great number of modern manufactures, which European industry has raised in our time, in imitation of those of the Indies, are those of plain muslins, striped and bordered, which they make in Switzerland, and in France; linens of white cotton, and printed linens, which surpass those of the Indies in beauty, taste, and variety of design; pekings, sattins, damasks, gourgourans, cirfakas, armoifins, and other stuffs, which equal all the patterns we have had from the Indies. The success of all these manufactures is so great and happy, in continually destroying in Europe the use of the Indian fabrics, and reducing the importation of merchandize from the East Indies, to materials necessary for supplying our industry, to drugs and commodities which luxury consumes. The commerce of the Indies, which used to be regarded as infinitely mischievous to our industry, will soon become

come one of the branches of the trade of Europe, which will furnish numbers of its people with the means of subsistence.

“The porcelane of the East Indies has been, for a long succession of years, one of the articles of importation of Indian manufactures, which carried away most money from Europe; and the progress of our industry, in imitating this article, is such at present, that this particular exportation of our money is almost destroyed; for the porcelane of China and Japan can no longer sustain the competition with those of Saxony, Vienna, Hoechst in the Electorate of Mentz, Furstenburgh, Séves, Louisburg, Munich, Spain, Bareith Anspach, Frankendal, Copenhagen, Berlin, Tournay, and Wesep near Amsterdam.

“The Indian porcelane had for a long time, the advantage of a roundness and proportion, always equal. We cannot yet find in Europe pastes, which, like those of the Indies, preserve equally well their dimensions in the fire; or in which the dimensions given to vases geometrically, resist the action of the fire; but this advantage, which is not generally apparent, and which, besides, draws the attention only of connoisseurs, cannot balance the superiority of taste, the
variety

variety of forms, the variety and beauty of the designs, and the painting of the European porcelane.

“ That which has been established and supported by M. the Count de Gronsfeld, at Wesep, equals (in spite of all the obstacles, which the dearness of labour, and the little subordination that can be found in a republic, opposed to the establishment) the others in form and taste, and by virtue of the secret of a superior paste, gives it a greater merit. A nation so industrious as the Dutch, ought to take part, and distinguish itself in this new effort of European industry, and in a sort of manufacture, in which success requires great œconomy, and a taste very refined in design and form.

“ The manufacture of porcelane at Wesep, which is already known, is come to produce its works in public, by the establishment of a magazine at the Hague, with all the advantages of richness, and of abundance in the assortments. But if it is superior in the white, and the paste, to all other manufactures, if it has also the advantage of supporting the fire without experiencing the same alteration as the other European manufactures, we must not dissemble that it has a defect, with which all manufactures of porcelane

celane are reproached, which is the inequality of beauty. This imperfection might perhaps be regarded with much indulgence, or be considered either as an advantage to the public, because we know there are established in the manufacture of Weesp different prices, proportioned to the degrees of this imperfection. In general, all magazines of the merchandize of luxury ought to be sorted, not only into different kinds, but also to the different qualities, and the different prices in the same kinds, for equally answering the taste and the abilities of purchasers. Hence the impossibility, at present, found in all manufactures of porcelane, of producing only what is perfect. The public has now the power of purchasing pieces of the same form and taste, and for which a low price is an equivalent for the defects; besides, these defects make little impression on a great number buyers, who rather seek cheapness than perfection; and it is the sale of these pieces, which are not of the first beauty, that supports all the porcelane manufactures. Those who would pique themselves on producing nothing but what was perfect, by vigorously breaking every piece that had any defect, as was the case heretofore in the manufacture

manufacture at Séves, fall necessarily into an excessive dearnefs.

“ Camphire, vermillion, brimstone, borax, azure, pitch, rofin, fpermaceti, falt, and fugar, and the refining all thefe, employ many hands, and furnifh much for exportation: that of falt is of great benefit to the republic, the Austrian Netherlands, the country of Liege, and fome other territories of Germany. The fugar refineries have loft much by the competition of thofe that have been raifed on all fides; but others have been gained by the progrefs of the colonies of Berbices, and Surinam, which furnifh at prefent thefe refineries, that ufed to import from France. It is an equal matter to the refiners, but very different to the republic.

“ The whitening of wax is alfo very valuable to Holland, for her commerce with Spain, where the Dutch carry much; alfo the ftarch manufacture, which works much for exportation.

“ The oil and faw-mills are very rich objects, although they employ but few hands: the home confumption of oil of colefeed, and alfo of planks, is very confiderable. Thefe two articles furnifh alfo a very great exportation. Holland produces but little colefeed, but draws much from Brabant, and from Flanders. The planks of oak, which
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the Dutch draw from the Palatinate by the Rhine, are a branch of very rich commerce with France, where they are called the woods of Hollands, from making the whole consumption; the Dutch use in their houses, and in all their works of wood, only planks of pine and fir, because their varnish and extreme neatness preserve them for a long time sound.

“But the manufacture of all others the most important, the most extensive, the most rich, and the most necessary, is the construction of ships. The timber yards of the Admiralty, and the Company of the Indies, are immense, but they are not comparable to those of the village of Sardam, which Peter the Great chose as the first school in Europe, for the construction of all sorts of naval buildings; and where he remained a long time unknown, in the quality of a simple workman, for the instruction of himself, and for raising a marine in his vast Empire. The works of this village are such, that it has been said, that if the ship-builders have three months notice, they would engage to launch a man of war every day. The republic pays foreigners for all the materials of this immense construction; but commerce is well able to make the expence return

turn to the State, both of those raw materials, and also of the workmanship, by means of freight, which is the first base of all the commerce of the republic, and the branch the most extensive, and the most rich. After having determined the size, the burthen, and the form of a ship, according as the branch of commerce requires for which it is destined, there ought to be an extreme attention to the goodness of it, which depends immediately on the ability and the fidelity of the builder; also on the goodness of the materials, that is to say, the iron, the wood, the cordage, and the sails.

“In general, the perfection of all merchantmen consists in being of a great burthen, and the ability of navigating with the least expence that is possible: a merchant ship ought to sail well, to be easily managed, to carry her sails well, to have easy movements, to contain much merchandize, and ought not to require a too numerous crew. But it is not easy to see a ship with all these qualities. It is much more difficult still, to find a method of construction capable of giving them all. The defects, even the essential defects, escape the view. The eye is deceitful, says M. du Hamel, and there is such little difference between a good ship and a midling one, that
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it happens sometimes, when two ships are upon the stocks, that to which we give the preference is found much inferior to the other which we look upon with a kind of contempt. In effect, how can the eye judge accurately, if the keel be proportioned to the weight of an armed ship? How can the simple inspection tell us, if the size of the head and stern are proportioned to the weight which each of those parts ought to carry? If nevertheless this proportion is not well observed, she sinks too much either behind or before; and if this fault is corrected by the ballast, &c. the movements will be rough, and will wear the masting. How habituated must we be to see in ships, adds M. du Hamel, where precisely to assign the position of the centre of gravity, the true curve of the water lines, &c? It is nevertheless from all these, and many other things, that are difficult to be perceived, on which depend the good or bad qualities of ships: they may make them wanting in every particular, or possessed of every good quality we can desire.

“ They approach, in the Dutch construction, to the exactness of all these points of knowledge, as far as they can be permitted by the nature of the commerce of Holland,

and by her ports. They particularly excel in the management and lightness of the manœuvres, which give a great advantage in the market, and also for the security of navigation.

It is nevertheless to be wished, that they adopted in Holland the custom of the English, who have obliged their ship-builders to present their plans of construction to the Admiralty, for obtaining their approbation. A custom so wise, to which the English owe the general advantage of their construction, would perhaps immediately carry in Holland the art of constructing ships to the most high degree of perfection, and give great advantages to commerce, and in the result, be of infinite good to human nature.

It is much less difficult to make choice of good materials. The same species of wood, of different degrees of goodness, follows in course. In general, the timber of the South is better than that of the North, and those which grow upon the mountains are superior to such as are upon the lower grounds. Different soils, different expositions and age, give different qualities; timber decayed, damaged, or too old, are bad for ship building. M. de Buffon has made an infinity of experiments for discovering the strength of wood:

wood : That of the branches, and the summit of the trunk of a tree is the weakest : all young timber is weaker than that more advanced in age : wood, which is elastic, resists more than that which is not : of timber on the same land, that which grows the quickest is the strongest, and that which grows slowly, and of which the annual circles are thin, is the weakest. You may easily reckon, upon the transverse cut of the trunk, the number of annual circles, which are distinctly separated one from another, and which increase in the tree every year. M. de Buffon has found, that the strength of wood is proportioned to its weight ; a piece that is heavier than another of the same length and size, will be found stronger for the same reason. We might, pursuant to this observation, compare the force of the wood of different countries and different soils. It is above all in the curbs, where the strength cannot be too great, for rendering the construction solid, as they serve to fasten together the whole ship. An application of M. Buffon's observation might here be very useful.

“Soft iron should be chosen. It is particularly important, that the iron of the pins should never break : a good builder will use

none but what he has proved. We do not at present know any iron that has more good qualities for the use of the marine than that of Spain and Sweden. Although great perfection has been given to the furnaces of France and Germany, yet the Spanish and Swedish iron always has the preference.

“ An immense quantity of cordage is used in rigging a ship: they distinguish particularly that which is made from the hemp of Koningzburg, and Muscovy. The first is estimated at Amsterdam at twenty per cent. better. That of Riga is inferior to that of Koningzburg by four per cent. The sail cloth of Bretagne, particularly that known under the name of royales, has been a long time reputed as the best for making sails; but they manufacture at present a good sort almost every where.

“ All these points of knowledge are necessary for such foreign merchants as build ships in Holland, that proper materials be purchased for the construction, in the orders given to their correspondents; also to national merchants, for their conduct in building well, whether on their own account, or for that of foreigners, who purchase them, independently of the construction. Holland is always the greatest market of Europe

rope for all sorts of materials, and of every kind of quality, proper for the service of the marine, and is at the same time the country where they best know the value of the different qualities of the materials for ship building. In Holland they build ships of any kind on the account of foreigners; and they make choice of different materials, conformable to the orders which are given them, which varies the expences of the commission, proportioned to the desire of those who employ them.

“ The manufacture of coloured linens, and printed cottons, has lost prodigiously its former advantages. They have been too much multiplied in countries where labour is at a low price, as in France, Switzerland, and the Austrian Low Countries. This is a competition which it is impossible Holland should sustain.

“ The city of Amsterdam possesses a manufacture, which is sheltered from the effects of competition, at least, she has only that of London to fear, who, to the present time, has been very weak in it; and that of Anvers and Paris is scarce any thing: it is the cutting of diamonds. Amsterdam is the only city that possesses, in a very high degree of perfection, this art; and also that of re-

ducing into small diamonds those large ones that are degraded by black spots and flaws. This art is supported by the merchants of Amsterdam, in giving much into the commerce of rough diamonds, both in the East Indies, and Brasil; by which they fix the art among them at the first hand, in Europe; for independently of the diamonds, which the ships of the East India company bring from the Indies, we also see, at sales in Amsterdam, the rough ones that come from London, and from Lisbon; therefore, if the commerce maintains and nourishes the art, it, in its turn, sustains the commerce, because if you would buy rough diamonds any where but at Amsterdam, you will be under the necessity of sending them to Amsterdam to be cut; on her side, the commerce has not much to fear from the desertion of the workmen, who could not find work elsewhere. This trade is every year an object of many millions of florins; and in this commerce, there goes in labour more than six florins a carrat. It is the same with rubies; but cutting them is infinitely easier, because they do not require the use of a mill, nor that of the powder of diamonds, with which they make grindstones. It is besides a branch of industry and commerce very limited, for the

the rubies, which deserve attention, are very rare.

“The manufactures, especially those of a great luxury, to which the oeconomy of the Dutch will permit only a weak sale at home, ought to submit to the decline, which we have observed. Three causes have concurred to reduce them to this state; the progress of industry among other nations, the decay of the commerce of Holland, and the debts of the public.

“Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, and England, have been the only industrious nations of Europe, and who have for a long time provided all sorts of linens, stuffs of wool and silk, and the productions of an infinity of manufactures. Almost all these fabrics have been spread through a part of Germany, in the North, and even into Russia. Already Russia imports no more superfine cloths from those industrious nations. Denmark has flourishing manufactures; and Sweden does not cease to make efforts for acquiring them. All nations at present seek with care, the means of perfecting the known arts, and of extending the limits of their industry and their commerce. There are nevertheless still in Europe markets for most manufactures, but attended by a com-

petition infinitely increased; but this market belongs only (if we except some articles of particular manufactures) to those who can afford to sell at cheap prices, in consequence of the low price of their labour.

“This competition necessarily hurts the markets of the manufactures which can only be sold at an high price, and must in the end infallibly ruin them. This situation and competition the manufactures of Holland, which are produced at an high price of labour, cannot sustain; and this high price has two causes, which it is impossible to remove, viz. abundance of money, which raises the price of all provisions, as well as the price of labour; and the taxes, which, through the necessity of paying the interest of the public debts, have been extended to all things the most necessary to life.

“The science of commerce has general maxims, which agree with all nations; and others, which, instead of being salutary in certain countries, are destructive. We ought, above all things, to raise and animate industry, and support and extend it upon the same principles. But the situation, climate, natural productions, not being the same in all countries, industry ought to be exerted in different degrees, and in different directions, according to the nature of the soil, the situation, and the climate of each country.

upon different objects. The different branches of art, and the productions of nature, are divided to infinity; but all cannot be cultivated with the same success. Almost all sorts of manufactures are in France, as their natural country; most of the raw materials abound there; and by the care of a good administration, the merchants furnish at reasonable prices whatever is wanted. It is easy to preserve all manufactures in a state, where vast provinces know no other commerce than that of the culture of the earth and manufactures, or where they can carry on no other. It is this, which keeps at a distance the too great abundance of money, which, in rendering all the necessaries of life dear, infallibly ruins many manufactures by the excessive price of labour. England, for a long time, enjoyed the same advantages, when it began to loose them by the excessive amount of the signs of wealth, much more destructive than real money. The English have made many efforts in vain for stopping the declension of their manufactures, while they left the excess of their fictitious money in existence, and the taxes necessary for sustaining their credit. The Dutch, without agriculture, (because they have not land to cultivate) are occupied in banking, and the commerce of oeconomy of all Europe; and though, in possession

possession of all, that is most rich in the commerce of Indostan, China, and Japan, could preserve their manufactures but for a moment. They adopted uselessly the maxims and regulations, which sustained the manufactures of France in a flourishing state; but the abundance of money, which their commerce of œconomy, their banking, and the Indies, brought into their circulation, together with the taxes upon the necessaries of life, could not allow them to preserve their manufactures, except those that are required for the maintenance of their marine, or which are supported by the great internal consumption.

“ Bookselling was heretofore in a flourishing state; we still see in Holland great fortunes, which have had no other source, but this branch of commerce; and the editions of Elzevir shew well, that the art of printing has been carried there to the highest degree of perfection. This branch of commerce is at present extremely fallen; it nevertheless maintains a great number of printing-houses, principally at Amsterdam, Leyden, and the Hague; and a foundery of characters at Haerlem, which is renowned, and merits its reputation.

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“ The superiority gained by the book-fellers in France, has infinitely restrained those of Holland. There are here many disadvantages, which will not permit the industry dependant on them to flourish greatly. Paper is dearer than in France; and the Dutch bookfellers have fewer opportunities of procuring good manuscripts than the French ones. Besides, Holland not being a country of consumption for books, the bookfellers are obliged to make a part of their commerce by exchanges; they are, at the same time, more liable than any others in Europe, to receive prejudice from counterfeits; a species of robbery which desolates their commerce, and is the more fatal, as there is no other means for preventing this abuse than the weak resources of the arts of commerce; and yet they pay upon their books a duty on exportation and importation of four per cent. But the state of this branch of commerce demands a total exemption.

“ The resource of this trade in Holland is in the fairs of Leipfick, of which books make the principal riches. It is there that the editions of Holland find their greatest consumption. Leipfick is an immense magazine of books. All the bookfellers in Europe,

Europe trade, during the fairs, in person, or by commission, if we except those of France and England, who, having at home a great consumption, attend little to the commerce at Leipfick. Booksellers there find some times the sale of entire editions; they make exchanges, and many sales, for which they give credit from one fair to another, that is to say, for six months. At each fair accounts are settled, and every bookfeller opens new accounts to be settled at the succeeding one. There is perhaps no branch of commerce, which is executed in a manner so simple, so easy, and with so much good faith.

“ The actual situation of commerce and the arts in Europe, leave the Republic but one means of restoring her manufactures, or, at least, of supporting a great number; she must turn her eyes to her colonies in America; it is there that a sale is opened on the most certain, and the happiest grounds, for European nations to support their industry. The Republic might infinitely multiply the consumption of her manufactures in that part of the world, by animating their agriculture and improvements. They already make a very great consumption of all sorts of linens, small stuffs, and every particular of dress and luxury;

luxury ; and it would prove a noble encouragement, very just and natural, to give in the importation, which is continually made of that class of merchandize, the preference to those which are the product of the national manufactures. It appears to be very easy to ensure such a sale, by a prohibitive law, which should not permit the introduction into America of any article of foreign manufactures, that could possibly be furnished by the nation itself.

“ If such a law was made, the object of which appears so useful, its progress ought not to be interrupted by particular considerations, respecting the commerce which St. Eustatia and Curacao might carry on with the coasts of New Spain, or the French islands. This commerce, contrary to the mutual laws made between the two nations and their treaties, is unknown to the government, and cannot attract its attention, if it was proposed as an obstacle to a useful regulation, which must be discovered and rejected.”

We shall finish this article with the wise reflexions of the grand Pensionary de Witt, which merit the attention of the government, much more at present than at the time when his memoirs were published. “ Na-
vigation,

“vigilation, the fishery, commerce, and ma-
 “nufactures, are the four columns of the
 “state, which give subsistence to most of
 “the people, and draw into the country all
 “sorts of strangers: they ought never to be
 “left to languish, nor burthened with taxes,
 “at least, unless the necessity is so pressing
 “as to be regarded as menacing the country
 “with entire ruin. Never must we permit
 “ourselves to carry such strokes at the fun-
 “damental base of our power, but on the
 “contrary, have in view the re-establish-
 “ing things upon the antient footing. We
 “should therefore know how to suppress the
 “taxes, when the tempest has ceased, nor
 “ought they ever to affect manufactures;
 “because these establishments are common
 “among our neighbours, and we are obliged
 “to draw from abroad most of the drugs
 “and materials which are necessary for their
 “support.”

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Agriculture of Holland.

ALL the world knows, that husbandry is not the great national object in Holland, but trade and manufactures. Their territory is very small, on comparison with the numbers of their people; so that an application to the arts and industry is necessary for procuring the inhabitants necessities. The quantity of land also was originally under such peculiar circumstances, that the wealth, which flowed in from trade and manufactures, could alone render the practice of any husbandry advantageous. The soil is of two sorts, good and bad; and so unhappily situated was the Dutch, that the former was only to be gained and preserved by vast monuments of their industry, the banks, which preserve all the lower and best lands from being overflowed; for the higher tracts of Frizeland, Overijssel, Guelderland, and Zutphen, contain in general a very great proportion of waste and poor sandy soils. This

This proportion is greater than commonly imagined, and was so when the Republic was undoubtedly in a more flourishing situation than at present. Davenant tells us, and in all these matters he is undeniable authority, that in 1688 they had 8,000,000 of English acres, which lett with houses and hereditaments at 4,000,000*l*. Now this is only ten shillings an acre, houses included, in a country amazingly full of cities; and this must vastly reduce that ten shillings per acre, probably to six shillings, or at most to seven shillings, which is a very extraordinary fact, and shews that the seat of immense wealth, vast trade, and flourishing manufactures, though they secured the soil by banks, yet did but little in raising the value of land. It was so crowded with inhabitants, that they reckon but $3\frac{2}{3}$ acres per head; and yet the soil they inhabited lett at less than in England or France at that time; this is a most curious fact, and well deserves the attention of politicians. Numerous writers have insisted on the infinite benefits arising to land, from a great trade and flourishing fabrics; but this of Holland is an instance to shew, that in all these general ideas, there should ever be a great latitude for exceptions. Upon the first stating the proposition,

proposition, that a country was so thickly inhabited as to reckon less than four acres per head; and the people, the most wealthy in Europe, full of trade, arts, and manufactures, and infinitely industrious, would not any one conclude, that the soil must lett at very high rents? Certainly this would be the natural idea: what therefore is the reason, that land is, upon an average, of a low value, under these united circumstances, which should tend so powerfully to raise its price?

The case, I conceive, is this; land in general is very low rented; but, in particular provinces, which are fullest of people and riches, it letts as high as any where in Europe: the small extent of the whole dominion is no objection to this fact; the people at large are affected by circumstances, which have no connection with their internal agriculture. It has always been the policy of Holland, to have in constant store immense quantities of corn in magazines, which they buy when the prices are low at Dantzick and London. They import much of the provisions of Ireland, salted beef and butter in particular: cheese comes from various parts; and live cattle, in prodigious numbers, from Denmark and Holstein. Add to this, that their fisheries are the most con-

fiderable in Europe, not only that of whales, which produces nothing for food, but herrings, cod, &c. &c. which feed amazing numbers of their people. Importations are well known to be so regular and great, that a famine, or even a great scarcity was never known in Holland, though they do not raise a fifth, or perhaps a tenth of the corn they eat; and in no other country, is the price of wheat so regular as in this.

Now it must be very evident, that all these circumstances cannot but have strong effects in lowering the prices of all land products; for every farmer in Poland and Zealand, is a rival to those of Holland; no commodity raised by the latter, can ever be at an high price, while magazines are stored from abroad, whenever prices are cheap; and as the importations are very great and numerous, the products in which the Dutch husbandmen are not rivalled, are very few. Milk, fresh butter, eggs, and butchers meat, are the only articles: cheese, corn of all sorts, salt butter, &c. &c. are all brought from abroad. This is the reason that the rents and value of land in Holland are, on an average, so very low, but it will possibly admit of an enquiry, whether they do not carry their importation too far. If it be said
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that land products are dear in Holland, and therefore this importation is necessary: I reply, that this dearness all arises from high excises, not an egg, or a pound of butchers meat, but what pays an excise, and some things several. This rise of price is not to the advantage of the farmers and graziers, but all goes into the pocket of the state and the retailer.

As to the rich grass lands, which I have mentioned several times, in the course of my journey, they are principally in the very populous province of Holland, near great towns, or on the banks of canals; these sell at high rates, from such of their productions selling at very high prices as cannot be rivalled from abroad, or any where else; and some of them are of such great natural fertility, that it is alone a sufficient cause.

And here I should further remark, that whatever receives most encouragement from the state, is sure most to prosper, (trade being the great object in Holland) manufactures are greatly attended to, these have consequently prospered; but as to agriculture, and a landed interest, they make it totally submit and be subservient to every other; for the importation of corn, and other provisions, is ruinous to the farmer, but is not

regarded here, because an object of commerce. This conduct, I must observe, is, upon the whole, suitable to the situation and interests of the Republic; Nature, and a fortune almost as rugged, has crammed them into a neglected marsh, which nothing but an industry like theirs could make the habitation of an independent nation. In such a state, trade and navigation, fisheries, and manufactures, could only support them, and particularly assist their first naval expeditions against their old masters the Spaniards: these, therefore, they wisely engaged in with all their strength and ardour; but as to agriculture, of what benefit could it principally be to a nation, that had not land enough to render themselves thereby independent? Necessity drove the Hollanders to trade: but had a genius more extensive than that of Lycurgus, or of Montesquieu, dictated to them a choice, without recurring to necessity, it would have been what necessity drove them to. Industry will ever make the greatest figure in those ungrateful spots that deny every thing to idleness: a numerous people, in such situations, must either be industrious or starve: this is a principal of action superior to every thing. In a word, agriculture has been so little thought of, or
attended

attended to, that the value which some tracks of land in Holland have arrived at, has been owing merely to the effects of that wealth which commerce has poured in.

The great success of the Dutch in trade, has set such an example to the other nations of Europe, that all are equally eager in copying her; but herein there appears too great a neglect of those essential distinctions, which are often found between different countries. France, England, Sweden, and Russia, have very considerable territories, or property in land, consequently they ought to pay a much greater attention to agriculture than this Republic, whose land is contemptible compared with theirs; but all these powers, particularly France and England, have imitated the Dutch so nearly as to neglect their agriculture, and in most cases sacrificed it to the interests of their commerce. This has certainly been very false politics: for that conduct, which necessity and wisdom made expedient and beneficial to a territory of only eight millions of acres, might surely be very improper to a dominion of eighty or an hundred millions? Had the Dutch given ever such attention to the improvement of their lands, they would never, by their assistance, have become a

great and powerful nation, nor even an independent one ; but this is quite another matter with nations rich in extensive territory.

An English writer of great reputation, Sir W. Petty, published a book in King Charles the Second's reign, which was at the period of the height of the Dutch power, and the purport of which was, to exhibit them as an example to his countrymen ; attempting to prove, that the only way to grow great and formidable, was to be all merchants and sailors ; that a landed territory was of no use unless full of people ; that Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, should, if it was practicable, be sunk in the ocean, after concentrating all the inhabitants in England ; all which sentiments, and many others of the same sort, were a mere paraphrase on the fortune of this Republic ; but nothing could be more erroneous than such a system, than voluntarily choosing a situation, which necessity threw the Hollanders into : the wise Dutchmen, had they inherited such kingdoms as England, Scotland, and Ireland, would not have pursued the same politics they practised in the marshes of the Netherlands.

For these reasons, the great landed kingdoms of Europe seem not fully to know their
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own interests, when they are so eager in the pursuit of trade and commerce, and manufactures for exportation, as to sacrifice the attention to, and advancement of agriculture. It is the error of short-sighted politicians, to carry their measures too far : great power and great wealth, in union, may do wonders, but there is more merit and more genius in properly discriminating objects, and in dividing the attention among them, in proportion to their respective improvements, than in boldly determining to create. The employments of a people should always depend on the territory they inhabit, and the nature of their pursuits should be taken from the climate and situation. Industry may certainly be as active, and carry a nation to as high a pitch of power and wealth, when pushed on upon these natural principles, as it is possible to arrive at from opposing nature, or from a boundless desire of rendering every thing artificial. Need I observe, that the wealth and power, which flow from the one, can hardly fail of being as permanent as the circumstances of the age will allow, while those of the other must, in their nature, be precarious and short-lived. But to return :

In the agriculture of Holland, the richness of their pastures is to be noted, and the

great attention they give to the management of their cattle; these are particulars I have often mentioned. They are very fond of the culture of tobacco, and that of madder; upon which it is to be observed, that as the husbandmen are rivalled, in the manner I have just set forth, whenever they raise the necessaries of life, it is not to be wondered at, that they should find those articles less advantageous than those of tobacco and madder: their only design in cultivation, is to raise as much money from a given quantity of land as possible; and the state takes no account of providing food at home for their numerous subjects, so that a man may cultivate what he pleases; these are beneficial to them, but madder, in particular, they raise not only enough for their own home consumption, which in their linen and cotton manufactures is a vast quantity, but also for the manufactures of the same sort throughout England; but at Marseilles, they are rivalled by the madder imported from Turkey.

Respecting the waste lands of Holland, and other parts of their husbandry, I have given several minutes, that will tend much to explain them; but the following passage, from a late writer published at Amsterdam, deserves

deserves translating. “ The inland provinces, particularly those of Guelderland, the marshes of Boisseduc, and the Barony of Breda, present the observer with fourscore leagues of waste land, entirely susceptible of a good improvement and culture, and of which the breaking up would be attended with the greatest success, if it was undertaken, and supported by the government on proper principles: this would be giving to the Republic the value of a new province. The detail, in which we are about to enter, authorizes us to consider this object, as one of the most interesting to the state, upon which much depends the prosperity of population and commerce, and is the most worthy the attention and the care of administration.

“ These waste lands produce, in many places, herbage in abundance, and particularly broom. There are some small parts broken up within these 10, 15, or 20 years, equal at present in goodness to the neighbouring lands that have been long cultivated. The common productions of the improved lands are wood, oak, rye, oats, and Saracen wheat; and the cultivators observe, that five or six years of culture are necessary to make these new lands equal to the old ones in culture.

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All the neighbouring lands that have been long cultivated, are very light and sandy, and of the same nature as those that are waste: they produce very fine rye, barley, oats, Saracen corn, clover, potatoes, carrots, turnips, and spurry grafs. The culture of this last is thoroughly known only in a part of Brabant, named Campine, in the three Guelders, and the Duchy of Cleves. In Cleves, they cut this herb, and dry it on their vine props; and it thus makes the best hay that is given to beasts.

“The use which might be made of this plant demands an observation: it is a species of the white pimpernel; it throws out many stalks to the height of about a foot. Botanists, who throw it under the title of *Spergula*, have observed, that it increases in the fields, corn, and grafs, principally in Flanders and in England; that cows give much milk when fed on it; and that it contains a moderate quantity of an essential salt and oil. In the Campine, the three Guelders and Cleves, they sow the spurry immediately after the crop of corn. This herb, which is very fine and delicate, increases rapidly, and gives a very fat pasturage for cows, who they tie to stakes in it, and it lasts them three months. They assert, that this plant, whose
verdure

verdure is like that of flax just come up, meliorates the land; at least, it is strongly averred, that it does not exhaust it, as they have constantly in Guelders sown corn on the same land after it. It is to this herb that they attribute the abundance and good quality of the butter of Campine: it is also, during the growth of this plant, that the butter of Guelders is the best of all Holland. Perhaps much greater advantages might be drawn from this plant, which yields so quickly an excellent pasturage, if it was better known. They might introduce it in the manner of the artificial grasses upon the waste lands, or, as permanent pasture, it might be very useful. But at present, they leave this pasture, after the crop, only till the end of October or the beginning of November, which is the time when they plough their lands for sowing rye or other grain. They might assure themselves, by observation and experience of greater advantages from this artificial pasture, which perhaps is not of so short duration, were not the cultivators ignorant or indolent.

“ Judgment may be made of the success, which might reasonably be expected from well managed improvements of waste land, by the example of the method of culture which is practised on the neighbouring lands;

lands ; by observing the manner in which the inhabitants of villages, the most accustomed to break them up, manage from time to time their portions, and by the productions which the lands of such villages yield, that have once been thus broken up. The lands which are perfectly cultivated, are never fallowed. They sow spurry or turnips, and after gathering the product, throw in corn the beginning of November. The manure they employ on these lands is the dung of cows, turf ashes, and the turf which they cut upon the commons, with what they make by littering their beasts. This last manure is not in much esteem, it has but a moderate effect from being so ill prepared. There are few examples of such bad culture, as that given to most of these cultivated lands. They plough only once, half a foot deep ; then they pass over the land thus tilled, a light harrow ; and to this they bound the preparation of the earth for receiving the seed of rye, barley, or oats, &c. They sow no wheat, because, they say, their lands are not strong enough for it. There is however no doubt, but that these husbandmen do not give the tillage, dunging, and other preparations, which are requisite for wheat. There are some cantons, where the lords of the manors

nors do sow wheat. These do not give more than two ploughings to their lands, and by this single preparation at most, get them into a better state than the others. But they themselves complain, that even this culture, imperfect as it is, is too expensive: this complaint is owing to a want of good markets.

“ The waste lands are generally of the same quality as those that are cultivated. Both have a depth of three or four feet, generally a grey sand or a black one, soft, moist to the touch, and mixed with mould: culture alone makes a difference. They have neither clay nor marle, unless perhaps they find it at a very great depth; but they find a clayey loam in some places at three feet and an half. The woods are oak, fir, elm, and in some places beech, all which are found in the lands improved. The methods of improving, followed at present by the neighbouring inhabitants, consist in raising the turf, which they carry home, either for burning or converting into manure, and afterwards ploughing the land. They limit themselves to one ploughing, whether for sowing corn or wood; in the last case, they leave it for eighteen or twenty years, at that age they destroy it, and break it up anew, when they find it considerably ameliorated.

It is thus that they treat, from time to time, some small portions of these vast waste countries. By this manner of breaking them up, and by the custom of limiting their culture to one single ploughing, the improved lands do not become equal to the cultivated ones, till kept in a course of management for five or six years: the reason, without doubt is, that they do not give the tillage in one year necessary for doing the business with effect. They know not the use of lucerne, nor that of sainfoine, but only that of clover, which succeeds in some cantons. It is certain, that this land must be naturally very fertile, by giving its product after an improvement so lightly made, after a single ploughing, and so little dung. If we only consult the principles, which the theory of the art of agriculture presents us, for following rigorously in the practice, we shall become tempted on the first inspection of the land, to neglect it, because that theory regards the class of sandy soils as almost sterile; but the sand, which predominates here, is not the flying burning sand that devours the seed committed to it, and renders useless all the efforts of the farmer, or such, that if it yields at length to industry, it is not till after a multiplicity of manures and much expence; the sand
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of the waste lands is here the same as that which predominates in the best neighbouring lands under good culture; or, to speak better, the waste soils and the lands, cultivated in the environs to a great distance, are all the same. Nothing but cultivation makes the difference; for in all, the sand predominates almost equally. The productions which the improved lands give, by the assistance only of one ploughing, seem to authorize us to believe them susceptible of as great fertility as the best lands around these villages. We have other proofs, that all the waste lands do at least approach them in the principles of fertility, which they contain, and are nearly equal in the comparison with other lands, cultivated in the neighbourhood of the towns.

“The experience of wells, made in the waste lands in different districts, turns out the same as in fertile soils. But we are not limited to this single experiment for stating the fertility of this great extent of country: an improvement of such importance will not permit us to neglect any proofs of the success which ought to attend it, if we can understand them. It is always an encouragement which presents itself to individuals, who, by their situation and their fortune, are
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in a state of undertaking some parts. It is well known, that we may assure ourselves of the principles of fertility, contained in these soils, by a view of them in a lye, and also by calcination, and by comparing them with the lands, of whose fertility we are assured by the fruits yielded every day.

“ We have tried this proof of waste land, taken from a heath, and the same quantity of soil cultivated by the side of that heath, and of the same depth. The heath furnished only a poor pasturage; and its soil contained nothing but sand. This sand is black, moist, and humid to the touch, mixed with earth, and similar to other lands in the country that are waste. We have found always the same in the same superficies to more than three feet depth; where is found a yellow and gravelly sand. The land, by the side of it, in culture, is exactly the same, except only this difference, that the yellow and gravelly sand is found at a foot and half of depth; and this land, which from inspection appears to be very bad, produces every year a crop of wheat, and one of turnips, and with dunging only once in two years.

“ An equal quantity of the cultivated soil, and of the waste, separately calcined in a violent

violent fire, and separately washed, filtered, and evaporated, have given each a small quantity of calcarious and saline matter. The land cultivated has given a little more of the nitrous salt, which is the natural effect of culture, and of what it receives from manures.

“ We have also submitted to the same process, and made an examination of lands from wastes taken from five different cantons, far removed from one another, and from the depth of two feet, in spots which appeared the least fertile, and we have found the same quality of soil as in three and four feet depth.

“ The land from No. 1, covered with the herb called heath, gave a greater quantity of salt of nitre than the rest.

“ That from No. 2, although more sandy, and of a greyer colour, yielded the same result.

“ That from No. 3 was not so black, sandy, or light as No. 1 and 2, but gave more salt, and it crackled more when thrown upon live coals.

“ The land of No. 4, on which oaks grow well, gave a vitriolic and feruginous matter, but less salt.

“ That of No. 5 proved exactly the same as No. 2.

“ All these lands have given more salt than others first tried, and are all at least equal in goodness to those in culture, whose fertility cannot be doubted.

“ Although the family of the gramens is commonly extremely numerous upon waste lands, that which infallibly announces a fertile soil is not found much here; the plant named erica by botanists, known under the name of heath, seems to have alone appropriated all these lands, at least it predominates in them.

“ Erica is a species of small shrub, which throws out many stalks to the height of a foot or a foot and an half, hard, woody, and of a red colour, brown, or obscure, garnished with small leaves, rather hard and rough, but always green. Its root is woody and scattered in the land. This plant increases in wastes and in woods, and contains much salt and oil, which is a proof that the land which produces it might easily be rendered fertile by a good culture.

“ All these waste lands are in general light and sandy, a little moist, and soft to the touch. A soil of this nature cannot long preserve the humidity of rains and the dew,

dew, which are the first instruments in the nutrition of plants. They want those oleaginous particles which have much influence in all fertility. These lands require dung and chalk. Such assistance, joined to that of frequent ploughings, insures fertility. These frequent ploughings must necessarily reclaim insensibly the greatest part of the land which is found mixed with sand, as being lighter. If the parts of these lands, which have been broken up from time to time, do not equal in goodness the neighbouring lands, after having been cultivated five or six years, it is only because they have given them but one ploughing a year.

“ It is evident from striking proofs, that the fertility of these lands is great, and which appears from the examination of the nature of the soil, from that of their actual state, and from their various productions, rather than from the methods which have been taken in breaking up and cultivating them.

“ They cultivate very badly almost all the neighbouring lands to these wastes : some, because the commodities raised have not a quick consumption, the inhabitants limiting their culture to the production of the necessities of their subsistence; and others through

indolence, or a defect in their abilities. The inhabitants do not profit of the facility with which they might procure pasturage in abundance, and raise a commerce in cattle, which would much enrich them. Instead of planting woods, and establishing artificial grasses, they give into the destructive practice of burning only turfs cut from their heaths.

“ This custom is degenerated into an enormous abuse; by carrying off turf continually, they insensibly convert a great extent of land to marsh. There are already great tracks flooded in winter. But this abuse, which might be easily remedied, is not an obstacle to improvements; the lands themselves, which this abuse has already converted into marsh, might, for the most part, be turned to value.

“ There are no bad lands after markets are opened, and a great consumption found. If you give this advantage to a soil, you will infallibly make the country rich.

“ There are but two principal objections to vanquish for rendering this great extent of country fertile, and productive of treasures, which are the want of markets, and the abuse of property in these vast wastes, which are common. These two obstacles might be

be attacked with success; the one by the legislative authority, the other by a wise and enlightened direction.

“ It is easy to open to all these lands a road to a great consumption. Their culture should be directed to the maintenance of as great a number of cattle as possible, especially in all the districts where the lands are at a distance from cities and navigation. Cattle transport themselves at a little expence to a great distance; the butter and cheese, of which the carriage, is easy, are among the richest productions in Holland; and they would furnish a great interior consumption, and also an exportation. The maintenance of cattle is one of the most precious branches of agriculture, and it is very easy to make them thrive in new improved lands, (however moderate they may be supposed) with the assistance of artificial grasses. We may join to the keeping cattle, bees also, which cost nothing but a little care, and yield a very great product in almost all the neighbourhood of these lands, where they are known to be kept; but it is in all these countries an article of culture, susceptible of much greater perfection than is easy to attain to without the publication of

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instructions,

instructions, equally simple and easy to be followed in practice.*

“ It is generally understood at present, that commons of a great extent are contrary to population, and to the progress of agriculture. It is necessary in certain countries to preserve some parts of such pasturage common, in order to favour the little farmers in facilitating their multiplication of cattle. These proportions of commons ought to be restrained to the farmers ability of properly stocking them. Upon such a system, these commons, divided into farms, might be occupied by new families, who would

* This is a just observation, and very applicable to the waste lands of England, Scotland, and Ireland: bees would prove of most high advantage, if kept upon a large scale, by understanding people; but here and there a hive at a cottager's is all that is found at present. The remark also that cattle should be the great object in new improvements, is equally judicious; since, by their manure, they are the best support of the farmers crops, and at the same time are easily converted to profit of whatever nature the country most requires, whether it possesses or not the advantages of navigation, and good roads. There is much use in studying the hints thrown out in such memoirs as this; because they shew what are the ideas of foreigners concerning their wastes; and when they coincide with the opinions of the best improvers at home, it is a strong presumption that the general notion is well and truly founded.

would, by their culture and their various works, raise a vast addition of wealth to the state.

“Ought such a plan to be laid aside for any trivial objection, which men may make, authorized by the indifference with which they behold these vast countries waste? Most of those who know them, agree, that the soil equals in goodness that of the best neighbouring ones that are cultivated. We have in effect proofs too striking of their fertility, and that they want nothing but hands for enriching a multitude of farmers, and the state. But say they, we have not hands for the improvement: all our cultivators are employed in our good lands, you must therefore give us men to break them up.

“If the abbeyes, too opulent and too numerous in the Austrian Provinces, who have been enriched alone by the immense improvements which they have antiently made, had been stopped by the pretended want of hands, they would have remained in the first indigence of their institution: there would have been no inhabitants in the country which they have improved, and the cultivated lands, which they reclaimed from desarts, would not have been peopled at this day. The number of cultivators are equally

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proportioned, in the most populous countries, to the extent of the lands in culture. The same objection would therefore have prevented the draining of some millions of acres of marshes, which in our days have been done in Holland, and in Austrian and French Flanders, in Artois, Picardy, and Poitou, &c. works which demand many more hands, and greater expences than breaking up heaths. The want of hands prevented none of these enterprizes, so happy and so useful; and we may always observe, that the culture of the other lands never suffered the least diminution. We might add to these examples that of England, of which half the territory has been broken up and ameliorated since the end of the last century; and where they prefer the treasures of a good culture to the miserable interests of immense commons. It is by this that that nation has so considerably augmented, in our days, her natural productions, and her territorial power. They have broken up in England lands as extensive as what we occupy here, and many of a quality much inferior to ours; and it is principally with the assistance of artificial grasses, that the English have insured the success of their improvements, and which has rendered, even

even upon ungrateful soils, their agriculture the most flourishing in Europe. If we cannot here impute the defect of culture to the quality of the land, so neither can we reasonably attribute it to the want of cultivators.

“It is certain, that the best countries remain waste, when in want of labourers, and that the least fertile become abundantly rich by an assiduous labour; but in the one and the other case, it is not in the want or number of labourers that we must seek the cause of sterility or abundance. We shall certainly find the cause of sterility, either in the excess of taxes, or in a want of a market for the productions of the earth. The cultivator abandons his profession, when he cannot procure a commodious subsistence; and that he can never find, when taxes devour the fruits of his labour, or carry off more than his superfluity; nor when he cannot enjoy the fruits of his labour by an easy sale of his products, to procure those commodities he wants for his comfortable subsistence. The farmer, who is forced to lay up the fruits which he cannot sell, will be unable to procure himself cloaths, &c. and is forced to abandon a fertile country, to go elsewhere for the necessaries of life. It is this which renders

renders desart certain countries, where it is sufficient only to scratch the earth, in order to obtain crops in abundance. But if a market is opened in such a country, and exempted from taxes, it is presently covered cultivators. For it is with agriculture as with manufactures, consumption is the first and most essential encouragement. Industry then brings every thing to profit, because there is an interest in engaging. Men multiply like the productions of the earth, in proportion to the advantages and resources which they find in their labours.

“The neighbouring farmers to the waste land, complain generally of the want of dung; and that they are obliged to have recourse to the turfs from the heaths to answer the purpose, but which yields a manure of a very moderate virtue. It is the only reason which makes them restrain their culture to a small quantity of land, and neglect improvements. For most of them agree, that their heaths broken up would be as fertile as their best lands, if they were able to dung them. This is the only obstacle which opposes itself to improvements.

“The use of artificial grasses would, in its consequences, infallibly remove this obstacle, if they were introduced upon these lands,

lands, which might easily be done by giving them an example of this husbandry. In all this country they know no other sort but spurry; and in a few parts clover. We have found, that spurry is limited to the yielding pasturage for about three months. In regard to clover, they bound themselves to the quantity they can sow with wheat or oats, and are absolutely ignorant of the use of lucerne and saintfoin, which yield abundance of food, which last at least five or six years, and which will not fail succeeding in soils that demand only the common management in the production of all sorts of grain. The inhabitants might, with the assistance of these grasses, multiply their cattle at will, and thus find themselves abundance of dung, with which to fertilize all their lands, as well as those they break up. It would be more advantageous in cantons, where the market for corn is difficult, to turn the taste and cares of the inhabitants to the commerce of cattle, of which the transport is easy, and the sale always certain. This commerce would soon become very extended, by the ease with which the artificial grasses would be increased. It would be easy to make an experiment on lucerne and saintfoin, of which the success might be regarded as infallible,

fallible, being the principal source of abundance and riches in a great extent of country.

“ These grasses, which of themselves infinitely ameliorate, by their duration of some years, the lands upon which they are sown, give an excellent nourishment to cattle during winter; and the lands sown with spurry, from the month of April to that of November, will furnish abundant pasturage, and of the best quality, during all the summer.

“ The necessary funds for the expences required in great improvements, especially for insuring the success of them, could only be found in an association of a company. The simple cultivators can find hands only, and those hands are useless without the funds necessary for buildings, for the purchase of cattle, seed, and the subsistence of the people until the time they can live upon the fruits of their labour. From the idea of the sterility of these lands, considering their vast extent, we cannot hope to see a party joining capitals to form a company for undertaking their improvement. Nevertheless, if we compare an enterprize of this nature with that of a drainage, and calculate very exactly the expences and produce, we shall find very near the same advantages in the success of one as in that of the other. But the
prejudice

prejudice is for drainages, and this prejudice will not allow them to hope for advantage from enterprizes, such as would be required in the breaking up waste lands. It is the government that should give the example; and a commission established to employ themselves with care, in searching the means of improving an extent of country so great and interesting, could scarcely want success. In remarking the event of some particular grants, and some modern improvements in Guelders, the country of Zutphen, in the marsh of Boisseduc, &c. they would be convinced, that it would answer the ends of government to take part by offering grants, and advancing the sums necessary to each farmer that demanded them, whether for the purchase of cattle, for buildings, for seed, and for subsistence till the crops were reaped, and waiting a few years for the reimbursement. It is not to be doubted, but if these conditions were offered to the countrymen, they would be accepted by a sufficient number to improve all these wastes.

“ This proposition is authorized by some examples which ought to be generally known, or, at least, attract more attention than they possess at present. Why should not the republic execute in great, what a nobleman of
Holstein

Holstein has done in small? This nobleman, an enemy to servitude, and a friend to mankind, gave in 1739 to a countryman, his bondman, the property of some waste and desert land. He built for him a farm, furnished him with moveables, with cattle, implements of tillage, and seed. In less than five years this countryman reimbursed his benefactor, and found himself rich. Since that epocha, the same nobleman has established every year two similar farms, which have been attended with the same success. He has thus successively carried on this establishment to the number of thirty families, who are rendered happy, and who of a desert have made a fertile country. If a single individual, if a nobleman, who has only his private estate, with both lands and fortune very limited, has been able to make so happy an improvement, what could not be effected by a powerful state, by following the same principles, and the same method? No one can deny but the state might execute in great, what this nobleman has performed in small with such great success.

“The waste lands of the republic would demand the establishment perhaps of forty thousand families. It seems, at first sight, that this would be an enormous expence to
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the state. It might be estimated at fifty millions, and is certainly a great object.

“ But let us for a moment suppose, that fifty thousand families were established in a state of prosperity on these lands, and the farms in good culture, and the whole belonging to a foreign power, and that this power offered to sell them to the republic for fifty millions, there is no person that can think the republic would hesitate to make the acquisition at that price, or that half the value would be paid. By imitating the nobleman of Holstein, the republic might gain to herself these riches much cheaper, since she might be repaid her expences in five or six years, and reduce the expence to the charges of administration, and the loss of the interest of the first expenditure.”*

* Then follows the particulars of M. Ray's improvement, a more circumstantial account of which I have given above.

CHAP.

C H A P. X.

Of the Taxes of Holland.

THE amount to which taxes are carried in Holland, forms a very remarkable criterion of government. Are we to esteem the countries where taxes are low, as the most free and happy; or those where they are the highest? It is amazing that this question cannot be answered in the manner which the first consideration of it dictates; which is, that the lower the taxes the more free and happy the people. But this is not the affair: taxes run higher in some of the free states, &c. of Europe, than in any of the absolute monarchies; of this the country I am now writing of is a strong instance; for in Holland, a given number of people, pay near double what the same number do in France; and in England, the people, though not so high taxed as in Holland, yet pay more than in France. This shews very evidently, that taxes are not inconsistent with liberty, and that arbitrary power is not
able

able to squeeze out of the people so much as a free government gets with ease.

The cause of this will shew us in a full light the advantages of freedom. It is the nature of despotism to impoverish; taxes are carried to excess under an absolute monarch, but with all their excess they produce but little. All lower classes are miserably oppressed; agriculture lies under a constant decline; commerce is not so attended to as in free governments; manufactures are also inferior; and an irregular, oppressive administration on all ranks, are generally the consequences of an arbitrary government. These are all impoverishing circumstances, and their effect is so strong, that we see France, which is upon the whole a more flourishing kingdom in several of these particulars than most of the other absolute monarchies in Europe, much more oppressed with paying twelve millions sterling, than England, with not half the number of people, from paying ten, which is an enormous disproportion. And it is to be noted, that many writers, who treat of the French commerce and manufactures, boast much of the flourishing state of these foundations of national power; so that supposing commerce and manufactures to be ever so flourishing in that kingdom,

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dom, it only proves, that the cultivators of the ground and all other ranks of people are, as it were, in utter ruin; that is by far the most considerable part of the kingdom.

In Holland, England, and other free governments, taxes are laid pretty equally on all ranks of people, and proportionably to fortune or income; in which method but little or no oppression can be found; but in France, &c. taxes are laid most unequally. All those ranks that depend on the crown, are most partially favoured, such as the nobility, clergy, men in office, soldiery, &c. the consequence of which is, that all the other ranks pay as much too much as they do too little; and after this general oppression, follows a particular one, which is sufficient to crush all the lower classes: some of the taxes, especially the Taille, are levied according to the supposed ability of every individual; and the supposition is founded on appearances. Farmers pay according to their crops, the number and goodness of their cattle, and the value of their implements and furniture; from which it must appear extremely plain, that the more they improve their lands, and the more they bring themselves into an ability of doing essential service to agriculture or the arts, and the

the kingdom, by so much more are they sure of being oppressed and burthened by the load of fresh taxes; which is a system of absurdity and destruction sufficient to ruin any nation under heaven. Hence the infinite number of beggars that disgrace all the roads of France, and the general poverty which is seen among all the lower classes of the kingdom.

These are the reasons that taxes produce so little, in proportion to the number of the people, in all the arbitrary governments. Their want of a free and proper constitution exposes many of the classes to such oppression, that poverty is the consequence; and all the power and despotism upon earth cannot force wealth from a people that are poor. Whereas in republics and free governments, taxes being equal and proportionable to every man's ability of bearing them, they impoverish no one; and the aggregate of the people seem not at all oppressed.

The quantity of taxes which can be raised on a given number of people, must every where be proportioned to the wealth of such people; consequently, that government is capable of raising the greatest sums on its subjects, which takes the best means and most care to enrich them: and upon the very same

principle it is, that the sums raised in arbitrary monarchies must be small.

In Holland, the government is free; and though taxes are immense, yet the people are the most wealthy, upon an average, in Europe. As to the various divisions of these taxes, I cannot do better than insert the account given by the author quoted above.

“ No person can deny the necessity of taxes. Whoever contributes to the expences of the State, contributes to his own welfare, to the preservation of his fortune, and his repose. But if the wants of the society require the imperious aid of taxes, nothing is more interesting to the welfare of humanity, than searching the means of conciliating the raising a tax with the form of it, and the form of the collection with the interests of population, of agriculture, of arts, and of commerce; in one word, with the preservation of the source of the tax, and with the increase of which that source is almost always susceptible among all nations. If it is very difficult to remove arbitrary power from taxes, and to attempt a perfect equality in the repartition of them, it is not impossible to approach very near it, and to please the people, at least with the form and the mildness of the collection.

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“ The tax on timber, the verponden, or duty upon immoveables, the duties upon collateral successions, upon the government bonds, upon the sales, are very just; they are not burthensome; the same of the duty upon domestics, which is laid upon the rich, and affects not industry, or the means of subsisting the people, but very indirectly; no otherwise than these duties exciting the rich to a greater œconomy, and rather straitening their consumption.

“ It is not the same with duties upon commerce, customs, and duties upon all articles of consumption. The actual interests of commerce considered, relatively to the general situation of the commerce of Europe, and the competition which the Republic experiences at present, require that means be found to reconcile a reduction of these duties to a moderate standard, with the public wants. A diminution in the customs might be made up by a greater œconomy in the collection, by the decrease of many employments in collecting them, and by an attention more exact and more severe to frauds, and in diminishing the duties upon the consumption of the necessaries of life; such as the duties upon bread, butter, milk, potatoes, fruit, coal, turf, &c. They might

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augment, perhaps, the product of the duties upon other parts of consumption, so that encouragement would be given to population; and the luxurious consumption would extend itself the more. They might also indemnify the exchequer for this diminution, by throwing them upon the consumptions of luxury; for example, the strong liquors, the beverages, above all wine, tobacco, coffee, tea, sugar, which do not pay enough; while the other articles, without which the poor cannot support themselves, pay too much.

“ The duties upon consumption are the mildest and most just taxes that can be made use of, especially among a people whose territory is very limited, who have not many manufactures, and whose riches consist essentially in a very extensive commerce, which maintains a great population: among such a nation, in all the cities that are the seat of its commerce; this impost being laid upon all consumption, even of the necessaries of life, seems to affect neither population nor industry, nor commerce; because population is supported by the commerce, which sustains at the same time the industry limited to the interior parts of the country, and agriculture, by a great interior consumption. It
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may be said, that if every thing is dearer, all labour will be dearer in proportion; that all is relative and must balance; and that commerce pays all.

“ These general reflexions are seducing; but it is a great error to believe, that they authorize an administration to increase the excise without measure upon all the necessities of life. This imprudence would have fatal effects, even in the cities which are the seat of the greatest commerce, especially if their commerce is a trade in freight, and would quickly destroy the greatest advantages. It is an observation extremely just, that has been made, on the interests of France with her neighbours, under the name of the Marq. D’Argenson, relative to Holland: “ That in the places where the Republic joins upon monarchial states, it is easy to know the lands of the Republic from those of the monarchy, by the good state of public works; and the same of the estates of individuals; here they are neglected, but there they are flourishing and in order.”

The same author again observes, “ that in the provinces of Flanders and Brabant, we see cities one upon another, boroughs flourishing, the country well cultivated,

“every thing in abundance, every thing in health.”

“But the observator falls into a manifest error, in attributing these advantages of the lands of Holland to the republican government; and those of the lands of Flanders and Brabant, to the municipal administration. If he had carried his observation a little beyond the objects, which immediately struck his view, he would have found the taxes much more excessive than in any other country, and in many districts, the administration loaded with abuses and erroneous expences. He would have seen in some provinces, and in many cities, about half the impost dissipated in its road from the people to the coffers of the Sovereign; and he would have been astonished to see, in so great an extent of country, a flourishing agriculture, resisting for many ages a destructive administration. With more reflexion, he would have found the cause of the flourishing state of these countries only in the situation of these provinces, which, by an easy navigation, carries every thing to a certain consumption: a consumption uniformly sustained for a long time by the trade of the commercial cities of Holland. He would have seen towns carrying on commerce, or
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occupied by manufacturers, equally well peopled; but in all others, a very bounded population, some even in indigence, and the people only subsisting by the consumption and very limited expences of landlords and cultivators. The cities themselves, the richest, as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, &c. sensibly impoverish themselves by the excess of their taxes upon consumption. Anvers, Malines, Brussels, Louvain, Gent, and the other cities of Brabant, and Austrian Flanders, are very badly peopled; they would be totally deserted, if their population was not yet sustained by the fabrication of linens and laces; for agriculture is very sensibly affected. All taxes which give a damp to consumption, destroy the most active agent of agriculture and industry, and weaken the source of taxes. This is what has happened in all these provinces, that have much extended their duties upon the consumption of the necessaries of life. It is that which happens at present from the same reason in England; the industrious workmen disappear, and carry with them their wealth and great consumption.

“In all countries, says M. Rousseau, a man's hands are worth more than his subsistence; but this is only true in countries where

where they are employed, and there only by general consumption, which furnishes at the same time the means of subsistence to a world of women, children, old men, invalids, and to men, in a word, who have no hands.

“ Thus it is that in a great consumption we see equally the source of a flourishing agriculture, a great population, and the true source of taxes, and the power of a state. It is the maintenance of that source, which ought to be the true object of administration. And the free administration of one man is a shelter from the contradiction of personal interests, which predominate in a Republican government, and in the municipal administration, with a greater means and facility of establishing and maintaining this source of public felicity.

“ Nothing is more useful to the public than writings upon political matters, which are the most interesting. Observations on these matters may give birth to an infinity of happy discoveries, and the greatest progress of genius and arts. It is to them, the legislative spirit and the genius of administration owe the principles of the most useful regulations ; for it is very clear from thence, what will make industry and commerce flourish. It

It seems, that the more industry and commerce there is among a nation, the more it is forced to multiply regulations; and such is the weakness of the human mind, that there is no nation among whom there remains nothing in this respect to wish for. There are states, where they feel without ceasing the want of new laws, although they have multiplied laws to an excess, which are become a load most burthensome to the people, and a great obstacle to the progress of agriculture, industry, and commerce. There are others, which have few useful laws; and others, that want all to be made.

“ Commerce, considered in all its connexions, in all the combinations of its utility, is an immense object. If we would run through all its branches with advantage, we ought to remember, that it is impossible for a single man to embrace all with that legislative spirit which administration requires. Thus they ought to know at will the enlightening observations of those, who have occupied themselves in throwing light upon all the different branches; and who would, like the English, have laws, regulations, and projects, for the improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, pass a crucible of public contradiction. It is thus

thus they might indicate the limits of prudence, and the wisdom of legislation.

“It is in this point of viewing the public utility; it is upon these principles that we go here upon imposts, and to examine some other branches, the most interesting to industry and commerce, which have the greatest influence upon their progress, and consequently is more interesting to a nation, who has no other source for her prosperity than industry and commerce.

“The imposts in Holland are divided into three capital branches; the duties upon exportation and importation; and the duties on valuation, which is not under that denomination an useless title, but an additional duty upon exportation and importation. This is the first branch of taxes, and the only one, which is equal to all the inhabitants of the Seven Provinces, which spreads itself over all, and generally in an uniform manner; and this the States General directly order, and the produce of it is carried to the treasury of the Republic. The two other principal branches consist in duties upon weights in the provinces and cities, in duties upon consumption, and in others, personal and real. These two branches, whereof a part of the produce belongs to the cities, and the other to

to the provinces, are subdivided into an infinity of other branches, all directed by a great number of laws, different and particular to each province, and to each city. For the states of the provinces, and the regency of the cities, are the legislators of their interior administration.

“ We do not propose to give a table of the administration of the finances, which requires a great detail, and is foreign to our subject, but simply to offer some observations, which the utility and the advantages of manufactures and commerce demand. We owe also this attention to the curiosity of foreigners, who seek, in the knowledge of the wisdom and oeconomy of the Dutch administration, for examples useful to imitate.

“ The laws of the customs ought to have essentially for their object, the favouring and encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and in general, all national industry, and exterior commerce. It is very difficult to make a general law universally wise and useful upon a matter of so vast extent, among commercial nations ; because, independently of the necessities of the finances, which demand imperiously of administration, duties upon commerce ; the duties on exportation and importation, in general on all materials raw,
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or manufactured, which come in or go out, the progress, and even the preservation of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, do all require prohibitions, or the impositions of duties, which, in taking place, either upon importation, or upon the exportation, consist of an infinite number of articles, both raw and manufactured. France and England ought to favour the importation of all the raw materials of their manufactures, which foreigners furnish them. Both the nations should clog the exportation of the raw materials of their own produce, and also the importation of all such foreign manufactures as would be prejudicial to their own. They ought to facilitate as much as possible, the exportation of the products of their own, or their colonies growth, and of all the manufactures they do not consume; for procuring all the advantages to agriculture, which those nations cannot encourage too much in Europe and America. The burthens, which agriculture, the principal and most precious source of their commerce, obliges them to throw upon the liberty of foreign trade, and the necessity of supporting their own manufactures, or of acquiring new ones, made them imagine the resources of free ports, for remedying as much

much as possible the infinite inconveniences given birth to by prohibitions. Among these two nations, the administration of commerce is perhaps the branch of the government of the state which requires continually of their ministers the most attention, care, and labour.

“ The administration of the commerce of Holland is infinitely less difficult; she has none but objects of detail, she has not to manage or conciliate in legislation so great a diversity of interests, as seems a contradiction; although her commerce embraces generally whatever is in Europe, and which Europe carries on with the other quarters of the world, yet her trade is nevertheless of a nature wholly different from that of France and England. These two nations, are upon the whole, kingdoms of agriculture, manufactures, commercial, warlike, and powerful in territory, and marine. Holland is only a warlike, maritime, and commercial nation. Its administration of commerce is less complicated, and its legislation ought to be infinitely more simple. Holland has not any natural productions to encourage by prohibitions on importation, nor by privileges on exportation. As much as the quantity of commodities consumed in Holland, surpasses

passes that of the productions of its soil, agriculture becomes one of the most lucrative professions; she can be discouraged or destroyed only by depopulation, which must be very considerable to be felt in the consumption of the productions of so limited a territory.

“Almost all her manufactures, reduced to a small interior consumption by the dearth of labour, demand some assistance in the customs; it would be useless to undertake to revive them by prohibitions, or by exemptions. Even with this assistance, it would be impossible to produce them at a price low enough to withstand the competition of foreigners; and besides, the interest of the aggregate of her trade requires, that her magazines have always an equal assortment of her own manufactures, and those of all other nations.

“We can only except the fishery, which we may regard as a sort of culture natural to Holland, which is one of the most precious branches of national industry; but the industry, which is occupied in the building of ships, the whitening of linens and wax, the manufacture of starch, paper, and porcelain, cannot be too much encouraged; but not by prohibitions of importation, which are contrary to the interests of the Dutch

Dutch commerce, and the freighting trade; but by interior exemptions, by an exemption from the duties of exportation, and by the liberty of importation among other nations.

“ Butter, and certain liquors, are almost the only productions of national industry; of which the interior consumption ought to be ensured by duties upon importation, equivalent to a prohibition.

“ The object of the customs ought therefore to be principally to favour, as much as possible, the importation and re-exportation of all sorts of merchandize, and foreign commodities; and administration ought to attach itself to raising as little as possible, the price of merchandize and commodities imported and re-exported, for sustaining the advantage in the buying and selling trade. This favour, which is demanded by the nature and commerce of Holland, seems not to require, in the laws of the customs, any dispositions but what are extremely simple: Nevertheless, this law, notwithstanding the changes that have been well conducted, is yet very complicated; it embarrasses commerce, and gives great advantages to the Hanse-Towns, and especially to those of Hamburgh and Bremen, whose

competition acquires every day a superiority, because their duties upon importation and exportation are scarcely any thing.

“It is commonly reckoned, that the customs amount to 5 per cent. of the value of the products and merchandize, both on exported and imported in general; but an examination of these laws, will not permit us to make this estimation with precision.

“The duties upon importation and exportation are only one per cent at Hamburgh, and half per cent at Bremen; which naturally ensures to those cities a decisive preference among foreign merchants, on all occasions wherein they can give a preference; and these occasions present themselves every day, very often in the ordinary course of commerce. Duties so moderate, invite not to fraud; they do not offer advantage enough, to engage a merchant to expose himself to the smallest risques; and for this reason, they produce more money to the public treasury, than if they were higher; but inducing traders to be fraudulent.

“There is no nation able to leave all exports and imports entirely free from all duties, and which consequently would want no custom-houses, either for the interest of the finances,

finances, or for encouraging its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce: but the particular considerations, which would enter into the composition of such a freed state, could not be combined with too much care and attention, for conciliating at once the demands of the revenue, with the necessity of preserving agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, which are the only sources of revenue.

“ The actual situation of the commerce of Europe, and that of Holland, which is so intimately connected with the rest of Europe that it depends entirely on it, requires not only that re-exportation be exempted from all the duties of exportation, but also, that the duties payable on importation be returned.

“ If we give any attention to the markets of the present commerce of Europe, and the circulation of products and merchandize, we shall be convinced, that the profits of commerce in general are much reduced at present, by excess of competition; the industry of these nations is much greater than that of the abilities of the merchants, who must pay for labour, circulation, freight, or the transport by land; the expences of insurance, commission, wharfage, and magazines;

gazines; and lastly, for the profit of circulating the signs of the value. When every nation, that adds all these expences to the price of the merchandize, in passing from the first hand to the last, also raises the value by the duties which are laid on them, it must make them necessarily and quickly lose all profit in the circulation; it must impoverish a commerce, especially if it be a trade of buying and selling. This is a natural and infallible cause of a decrease very sensibly felt in the universality of trade, where the disadvantages are not to be balanced by the profits made by certain individuals from speculation, even with uncommon success; for in this matter, we are only to consider the general trade, its common and daily course, independant of the revolutions which take place from time to time in speculative commerce; and which ought not to enter into the spirit and motives of the customs on exportation and importation.

“ But the state of the finances of the Republic, and the expences which she must sustain, will not permit the use of a rule, which ordains the return of the duties of importation upon re-exportation; or for freeing foreign commerce of all duties of exportation and importation, and to reduce those
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upon the entry, to the interior consumption; but if the diminution of the public revenue, will not allow of giving such an assistance to commerce, would it be impossible to find, in a matter so important, the means of giving, at present, that encouragement which is indispensably necessary, without altering the revenues of the state? Would it be impossible to form the idea and project of new rates of customs to be substituted for the present ones, the duties to be more moderate, the collection more easy and certain, to give the same product, and perhaps a superior one, and at the same time to spread through the Dutch commerce, a part of those precious advantages antiently enjoyed?

“ We should fall into a great error, if we regarded, in general, the excise upon consumption, and upon houses and lands, as indifferent to commerce, upon the foundation of Holland not having many manufactures to conduct; and because the consumption there is so superior to the productions of a territory extremely limited, that it is not to be feared culture would ever be neglected on account of those imposts.

“ We generally consider the duties upon consumption, like the imposts, as less burthenfome, the most just, and the most equal.

This is true, if in the imposition of the excise it falls upon the consumption of the necessaries of life, and the substance of the people, without destroying industry, and the means of subsistence. In admitting these conditions, the impost becomes as just, and as little burthenfome, as any tax can be.

“The weight of this tax is laid upon the consumption of all the necessaries of life, in the cities where the wealth essentially consists in a very extended commerce, which naturally maintains a great population, and is, without doubt, the less sensible of it; but all is the dearer, all labour is dearer in proportion, but all is relative, all is balanced, and the commerce pays all.

“But though this excise, laid upon the consumption of necessaries, in the commercial cities, is less burthenfome than elsewhere, it is nevertheless very destructive, especially in cities where the commerce consists of buying and selling. It cannot be contested, but that these excises render the necessaries of life much dearer to the people, and consequently increase the prices of labour; and from thence, it must necessarily arise, that all the works, required in the shipping and navigation of an infinite detail, will become dear, and the maintenance of the crews
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equally dearer; the nation must therefore lose the advantages of a low freight: and it further follows, that the labour in loading and unloading merchandize, and the expences of magazinage being dearer, the commissions from foreigners will infallibly diminish and pass to rival nations. The fishery becomes also infinitely dearer for the same reason, and much less useful to the merchants; the nation must therefore impoverish itself, by continual decrease of commerce and navigation.

“ The influence of the excise, upon commodities of the first necessity, with respect to population, and the welfare of the people, is much more sensibly felt in cities at a distance from maritime commerce, where the evil has a progress much more rapid; there it produces a failure of all manufactures, that are not supported by the interior consumption, or which cannot support at home the competition of foreigners, by the single effect of the dearth of labour, which gives too high a price to all works of industry; and the loss of an industrious class of the people, by diminishing population and consumption, will necessarily impoverish all the other classes, and weaken the state. The people, who have only industry for
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their support, are become very poor in the cities of Holland at a distance from commerce. The decline of manufactures has already stopped a part of the usual quantum of industry in the commerce of retail, while the traders in that branch can scarcely subsist; they are now too great a number. The loss of manufactures has diminished the number of purchasers; the population also of cities, distant from maritime commerce, can hardly sustain itself in the state of mediocrity; which we see by the luxury and consumption of those, who live on their fortunes or rents, and of the inhabitants of the country.

“ If we examine with attention the different branches of taxes, among different nations, we shall find, that the interests of general industry diminish, or are totally destroyed in some, while in others they arise and augment, only because they fall alone upon luxury, riches, and superfluities. We might find, without falling upon the means of the people's subsistence, enough to support the public expences; and we might thus preserve the sources of the finances, and the strength of the state; for if we reflect well, we might see, that the riches of individuals, and those finances, have equally their source in

in the industry of the people. The wealth, from which the state supports her exchequer, in whatever hands it may be found, is all produced by the industry of the people; destroy this industry in a state, and the riches of landlords, and those of the proprietors of houses and lands, as well as those of commerce, become at once annihilated, and with them those of the finances.

“ If we examine upon these principles the different branches of taxes in Holland, we shall find, that the duties upon bread, meat, milk, butter, fruits, turf, and coal, destroy without ceasing the sources of all taxes, and that they ought to be infinitely reduced, or totally suppressed. The excise, on the contrary, upon the commodities of luxury, might be infinitely augmented without hurting industry, and without giving any interruption to the means of the people's subsistence. The duties upon tobacco, tea, coffee, sugar, cocoa, oil of olives, wines, brandies, stuffs, and above all the silks and the rich stuffs of foreign manufacture, are too low, and higher duties upon all these articles, luxury could well support; there being, for the most part, a great consumption of them, which would recompence very advantageously (without doing any mischief

mischief either to commerce or any branch of national industry) for a great diminution, or a total suppression of all the excises upon the necessaries of life.

“The impositions upon lands, houses, mortgages, horses, carriages of all sorts, upon all sorts of domestics, upon marriages, upon the public sales of moveables and immoveables, in supposing the imposition upon the footing of a just valuation and fine, the duty upon timber, and the rights of succession, whether testamentary or *ab intestato*, or by the direct line of descent, are just impositions; they do not attack the industry of the people, they fall only upon wealth or superfluity, and might be imitated in the whole, or in part, with great advantage by the other nations of Europe.

“It is not the same with the duties imposed upon cows, whether under the name of salt for cow-keepers, or under other denominations, which raise the price of the milk, butter, and cheese, a precious part of the aliment of the people, and absolute necessities of life. These duties may be regarded as an indirect excise upon milk, for the cow-keeper must sell it dearer, in proportion to the tax upon cows. They do not give the salt to the cows, the consumption is
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made by salting the butter and cheese, which cannot be carried to market without salt. By this custom, the cow-keeper resells his salt with great profit, and the tax is not burthensome to him, because the price which he has for his milk, butter, and cheese, throws the duty upon the consumer.

“ The duties upon consumption raise the price of commodities, and this augmentation of value, may produce different effects among different nations. It is true, in general, that the duties upon consumption are paid by the consumers, because they do not change the natural price of the commodity, which is regulated at market by the abundance or scarcity of money, and is more or less according to the demand. We should not here give any attention to the expences of the proprietors, in bringing their goods to market; those who are nearest, enjoy in this respect, an advantage which is foreign to the tax, and in which the tax makes no difference: but it happens often, that the duties much restrain the consumption, either in removing the consumers, and lessening their number, or in exciting them to a greater œconomy; and the defect of consumption establishes such an abundance of the commodity, that the proprietor is forced
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to give it for a low price, though only to pay the duties upon consumption; in this case, these taxes on consumption are the occasion of infinite evils. This inconvenience is not the only one to be feared in Holland; it cannot happen, that the proprietors of commodities should pay no part of the duties on consumption, because the consumption of commodities is much superior to the territorial production: thus, if they would raise a duty, at the expence of the inhabitants of the country (who are almost all cow-keepers or turf-cutters, and the richest part of the lower people, and, at the same time, the only ones that are rich, are near the maritime cities) in imposing on the cow-keepers the tax on salt, and other duties upon cows, and likewise a species of capitation upon the turf-cutters, it is certain, that the legislator will miss his ends, from these duties being paid by the consumers, to whom they are very burthensome.

“ These taxes, as well as those upon the necessaries of life, would not only be happily made up by an increased duty upon the consumption (so much per cent. upon the value) of sugars, tea, coffee, cocoa, and tobacco, and upon which there are very moderate duties at present; and also upon silks, stuffs,

stuffs, and other foreign manufactures. These commodities and merchandize are susceptible of a great augmentation of the duties upon importation and consumption; and these duties would not hurt national industry nor commerce, by returning, as before observed, the amount of the duty upon re-exportation.

“ If proportional duties were added upon the consumption of tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, oil of olives, wines, brandies, silks, and rich stuffs, which are the consumptions of luxury, the finances would surely receive a produce from them, superior to the amount of that which is drawn from the entire excise upon the necessaries of life, as upon bread, milk, butter, cheese, meat, turf, and coals.

“ We may observe, that the countrymen, or cultivators of land, are extremely loaded with taxes in Holland, but they are nevertheless the class of people who pay the least, because they pay with the money of the consumers. One is astonished, in travelling through the province of Holland, to see so little land in the hands of the cultivators; and though the taxes are so high, yet the people so easy, and for the most part rich; so that a very great number are not seen in towns,

the towns, without having a chaise with one or two horses. The reason is very simple, those who employ themselves in the fishery, find a prodigious consumption, and, at their door, the fund of inexhaustible riches; most of them reckoning their fortunes by the ton of gold, or 10,000 florins. Those, who undertake turferies, are not poorer; the other countrymen have only milk and legumes for the object of their industry; they are all cow-keepers or gardeners, or both the one and the other; they sell the fruit of their industry very dear, and proportionably to the taxes which they pay; they have all the advantage of carrying them on canals to a great market, so that we are to regard their taxes no other than imposts laid upon the consumption of the bourgeois, and the other inhabitants of the cities. This wealth perpetuates itself among the countrymen, because they do not permit their children to quit their own profession; and this is one of the greatest sources of the Republic's strength.

“ But this source, this opulence of the country, suffers infinitely by the diminution of that great consumption which maintains it: but the administration should stop the progress of depopulation in the cities removed

moved, from maritime commerce. We should have found, that this source has already lost much, if we had taken the pains to observe it with care. We have not, perhaps, given sufficient attention how much the riches of a cultivating people, and that of the state, depend upon the easy circumstances of the inhabitants of cities; if they, who have lost their manufactures, which leaves them but little other industry, and who, by their situation, cannot take part in maritime commerce, nor in the fishery, nor in the building of ships, are nevertheless obliged to pay always the same subsidies to the state; it must necessarily follow, that they must be impoverished and depopulated by such impositions, and their weakness must have a lasting effect on their whole neighbourhood, and even upon the prosperity of cities occupied in a great commerce. It seems, therefore, that the general interest of the commercial cities, is nearly the same with that of the others who have no commerce, and very little industry, and whom they should assist, by bearing a greater proportion of the public levies.

“ Administration might indemnify the commercial cities, for such augmentation in their share of the public expences, by suppressing the
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burthen of imposts which fall upon navigation; and which alter or destroy a part of the natural and artificial advantages, which the navigation of Holland has upon that of other nations.

“ Independantly of the freedom of the manœuvres which the Dutch know how to give their ships, which from thence require less numerous crews, independantly of their extraordinary extreme œconomy of living, of their attention in procuring freight, of having few expences from delays, and never failing upon ballast, of procuring themselves all the materials for building at the first hand, and of constructing in the cheapest manner possible, they have the advantage enjoyed by few nations of Europe, of having a much greater number of seamen than their navigation, all extensive as it is, can employ in time of peace, and which establishes, in all their ports, a most happy competition for forming good crews at a low price. This class of people is so numerous, that it is pretended there were more than 25,000 Dutch sailors employed in the English ships.

“ This immense number of seamen, is the product of their small fishery, which lasts all the year, more extensive in Holland than any where else, as well as of the whale
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and herring fisheries. These three fisheries do not cease to raise and form every year a great number of seamen, more than their marine and commerce can employ.

“ We cannot see without regret, in so wise an administration, all these happy advantages balanced by taxes. If M. de Montesquieu had been more exactly instructed in the commerce and finances of Holland, he would not have said, that whatever contributes to navigation is exempted from duties: he would have said, on the contrary, that whatever contributes to navigation, ought to be exempted from duties; because, as he very well observed, the œconomy of the state, gives soul to the commerce of freight. If the tribute of it is lost, it is recompenced in some measure by the industry and riches of the Republic. Here the most wise Republic would find an example, worthy of their imitation, in the administration of the monarchial states; for such duties, M de Montesqueieu observed, to be little proper for making commerce in general prosperous, and especially the commerce of freight. For there is, perhaps, no monarchial state, where we find real duties upon ships, and a sort of capitation upon their crews.

“ The duties of two and an half per cent. established upon immoveables, likewise upon the amount of sales, and also upon mortgages, are extended to all sorts of ships, yachts, and buildings, covered or uncovered; comprising their cannon, rigging, utensils, &c. They except from these duties, only the first letters of property, and the privileges of the builders; and the ordonnance directs, that the duty upon sale shall be paid, half by the vender and half by the purchaser; but if the purchaser is a foregner the duty is reduced half.

“ Besides this, the ships pay another duty under the name of Last Geld. It is a tax of 5s. per last upon exportation, and 10s. upon importation; and the vessel thus acquitted, remains free all the rest of the year. It is a duty laid upon the passport or lettres de mer, which last during a year. Ships are obliged to take every year a new passport, and to pay new duties of five or ten shillings per last.

“ We know of no other exemption from excise, in favour of navigation, than that of some augmentation, in favour of bakers, who make the biscuit for the ships going to sea, for their consumption on board.

“ Salt pays five florins per ton, and some augmentation. That which is employed in salting

salting herrings, and other fish, is exempt from this duty ; but there is since imposed, from a half to two shillings per head upon the crews, according to the different countries to which they are bound, as a duty upon their consumption of salt.

“ These duties upon ships, and their consumption, are very burthenfome to the Dutch merchants, and prejudicial to that competition which they have at present to sustain, in the trade of buying and selling, and upon freight, which is the first basis of it.

“ In the system of taxes, limited to these duties, and the excise upon consumption, there are in Holland two sorts of fortunes, and which are the most considerable in the Republic, which contribute nothing to the public expences ; because these fortunes are out of the reach of taxes. For we are not to regard as a contribution to the public charge, the duties of excise which are paid by merchants, and the proprietors of income in the public funds of foreign nations. The merchants pay nothing to the state upon the product of the capitals which they circulate in commerce ; nor the stock-holders upon the income which they draw from foreigners ; and yet if we calculate the general revenue of the nation, we shall find

that these two are the most considerable part, perhaps two thirds of the whole.

“The public revenue of a nation is no other than a part of its general income, whereof all the branches ought to contribute to form the public revenue. And it is a most destructive evil in the form of taxation, when the richest branches of the general revenue contribute nothing to form the revenue of the public. Independently of the permanent injustice, which results from the inequality of the division of the public duties among the citizens of the same state, the exemption from the imposts, enjoyed by the fortunes of merchants, and of persons enjoying wealth in the public funds of foreign nations, throws all the burthen of the public expences upon the manufacturing people, upon indigence itself, and upon those classes of people who are not able to bear it, and must necessarily be very destructive to the welfare of the state.

“The duties upon the consumption of luxury, principally the heavy ones, which enter only into the consumption of the rich, such as the commodities of prime quality, and the expensive stuffs of foreign manufacture, are but a weak means of making the the greatest fortunes, and the greatest wealth
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in the state, contribute in any proportion to the expences of the public; especially in a country where luxury is so generally introduced, and where it is so well known how to reconcile it with the greatest œconomy; and where, in spite of the efforts of the mode and of luxury, few of the rich spend more than a third or half of their incomes.

“ Let the declaimers against luxury, and those who complain without ceasing among some nations at personal impositions, and the arbitrariness that accompanies them, consider of the inconveniences which must result here, from an exemption of such persons from contributing to the public expences, who enjoy three fourths of all the fortunes of the state; an exemption, the evil of which renders useless the greatest sources of the power of a state and the industry of a people! It is above all things, necessary in a Republic, that a spirit and zeal for the welfare of the country, should suggest the means of extending the taxes with a just equality, and a happy proportion, as much as possible; and that the weight of the public expences should be laid upon all wealth, and particularly upon the greatest wealth that exists in the state. It cannot be improper, to shew by

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way of example, what is done in the city of Hamburgh.

“ There they make all the merchants contribute to the imposts in proportion to their possessions ; but the merchant taxes himself. He knows at the moment he is going to pay his tax, the wealth which he possesses, and he makes his calculation, and carries himself, or sends, in a bag sealed up, the sum which he imposes on himself, and which is received by four commissaries or receivers, and put, in presence of the person who brings it, into a chest, without any one being allowed to count it. It is easy to perceive the reason of this. No person can be received into that city to carry on any commerce, without making oath of contributing, in conscience, to the expences of the state. We see clearly, that by this form of impost, many men, who had no regard for religion, might cheaply acquit themselves of contributing to the public expences. Nevertheless the good which results from this form of taxation, must be much superior to the inconveniences which may accompany it, since an administration, so wise as that of Hamburgh, finds the advantages of this form. If it is not the most sure, it is at least the most mild way of making unknown fortunes

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tunes contribute to the expences of the state: and if there results some inconveniences from this form of impost, they ought at least to be preferred to the infinite evils produced from entire exemptions.

“The good administration of the finances, the most just and most exact equality in the division of taxes, ought to be regarded among all nations, but especially in Holland, as it is one of the greatest and most important means of preserving or increasing commerce; and it much imports all the nations of Europe, that Holland should preserve her trade, or increase it, if possible, by new regulations, or by new efforts of national industry.

“The commerce of the Dutch consists in buying the commodities and merchandize of the South, which they deposit among them for making out assortments for the North; and the same from the North for the South. They have established among them the best market in Europe, for the products of the soil, and the industry of the four parts of the world. Thus the industry of the Dutch consists principally, and almost entirely, in giving a value to the industry of all other nations. The industry of the Dutch is therefore extremely useful to all

other nations, and it imports them infinitely to perpetuate it. It is the very nature of the trade carried on in Holland, to establish, among all other nations, an advantageous competition in their sales and their purchases; to sell for them, with the greatest ease, and at the best price, their superfluities; and to procure them at the lowest price, whatever they want: this constantly gives a new activity to their industry, and multiplies the means of their subsistence. This activity, which the Dutch give to the commerce and industry of all Europe, by their navigation, is animated and infinitely increased by the immense sum of credit, and the signs of wealth which they maintain, and which they circulate without ceasing, in all the places to which they trade. This is some of the most precious food that gives spirits to European industry. This circulation itself is so important, that if we supposed it suspended for only a year, in the present situation of the commerce of Europe, all industry would fall into an universal languor; the fruits of agriculture, and the arts, would become a charge to their proprietors, and the finances of the greatest part of the powers of Europe, would necessarily be affected.

fects. The general welfare of all the individuals, which compose the great European family, requires the most active circulation of commodities and merchandize. This circulation cannot be made but with the assistance of silver, which is the representative sign of all value; but as on one side, silver cannot circulate itself but with slowness, and on the other, as the sum of money, which exists in Europe, cannot represent the tenth part of the value which agriculture and industry continually produce, the genius of commerce has equally supplied the slowness of the circulation of silver, and the insufficiency of its quantity, by the signs of money, by substitutes, which represent it, where it is not; and which exactly executes all its functions. Now it is credit alone, that can produce these signs in the abundance necessary for giving so great an activity to the circulation of products and merchandize; and Holland furnishes Europe with much more than half this credit.

“ We ought to consider likewise, the industry and the commerce of the Dutch, in another point of view of utility, yet more important.

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“The equilibrium of commerce is the object which ought most to occupy, at present, the political genius of the nations of Europe. It is by the establishment and the preservation of this equilibrium, that each nation ought to take, in the sum of the general riches of Europe, the part which naturally belongs to her situation, to her productions, and to her industry. The general interest of the commerce of Europe, is not only an enemy of all destruction, but it further requires, that each nation be industrious, and carry on with freedom whatever commerce she can acquire. This liberty extends itself here to navigation and legitimate commerce between all nations, without striking at the establishments of commerce which belong to each nation in particular. It is in this, which consists the equilibrium of the commerce of Europe.

“No nation is so much interested as the Dutch, in the establishment and maintenance of this equilibrium of commerce. Connected with all the nations of the world, the nature itself of their commerce renders this equilibrium interesting and necessary. They are, at the same time, a commercial nation, and a warlike and maritime power;
and

and by reason only of this national interest, the other nations may regard this maritime power as one of the great resources of Europe, for maintaining the equilibrium of commerce, and have a right to claim its assistance."

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Manners, Customs, and Genius of the Dutch.

I AM very sensible, that it is an arduous task for a person who does not make a long residence in a foreign country, to pronounce upon these points with clearness and accuracy; but I shall not pretend to give a minute picture of the Dutch manners, on the contrary, I shall venture no further than attempting to trace those strong distinctions, about which I had not any doubt; and at the same time, minute those particulars, in which the writers of the last age seem to be grown obsolete. They might be, and some of them certainly were competent judges, but the nation itself is in various circumstances changed. Nothing is more common than to read accounts, handed down from writer to writer, who copy one another with the minutest attention, of nations, the originals of which, however like and justly drawn,
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are become as different from the present inhabitants of the countries, as the French are unlike the Turks.

It is true, that in all countries the climate has such an effect upon the inhabitants, that some striking and distinguishing marks will be found in their characters, in all ages. Tacitus, who was so deep an observer into men and manners, has given many touches of character in his accounts of the antient Germans, Gauls, and Belgæ, which are almost as applicable to the present French, Germans, and Dutch, as they were to the antient nations; although the invasions of the Northern kingdoms, upon the destruction of the Roman Empire, made so total a change in all the provinces of the empire, in arts, manners, languages, opinions, and in all other circumstances. In a word, a new people appeared in Italy, France, England, Germany, and Holland; and nothing therefore can be a stronger proof of the great influence of the climate of a country upon the inhabitants, than to find the present people of those countries bear, in many particulars, a striking resemblance to the antient inhabitants.

But these strong national characters, which form the grand distinctions between different nations,

nations, are not the objects, I would wish to expatiate on; since their being so strong is alone a sufficient proof, that the authors of preceding ages gave as just accounts as any in the present one can do. Sir William Temple has given as judicious and satisfactory an account of the Dutch, as they were in the last age, as can any where be met with of any other nation; indeed, that writer was possessed of a truer philosophical spirit than most of the authors of his age and country. All his works are equal proofs of penetration, integrity, and reflexion.

If we form an idea of the Dutch in the last age from his writings, and those of some other authors of credit, we shall find a people, if I may use the expression, rather emerging out of a most consummate national frugality, and beginning to enjoy the wealth which they had been heaping together for two ages: but in that gradual change, even luxury was parsimonious; it made none of those hasty, gigantic strides, with which it overwhelms a monarchy; its approaches were proportioned to the equality of the Republican government.

In the present age, the Dutch are very much changed; luxury has made as great a progress as it can make in any country, not
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under a monarchical government, and in which the landed estates are not very considerable. These are two circumstances necessary to the existence of that luxurious profuseness, which we see in the great kingdoms of Europe. A court concentrates all the great and idle rich men of a nation to one spot; there, example and emulation become spurs to every article of profusion, and all the refinements which attend great wealth, and a luxurious turn of mind, are sure to be found; but this wealth, or at least, a considerable part of it, must result from great estates; it is the possessors of them alone that can carry luxury to the highest pitch; moneyed men, however great their fortunes may be, seldom or never fly into that various round of expensive dissipation. It is the men of great estates that set the example, and make the rest eager to follow them.

Several reasons are to be assigned for this: men, whose fortunes consist in money, are rarely brought up in absolute idleness, in Holland scarcely ever; they are either in some trade, or some lucrative post, either of which, especially the former, gives them the ideas and the practice of an œconomy, even in their extravagance, which men, born to great landed estates, never know: a small
attention

attention to any regular accounts, will, in general, keep a man from being boundlessly profuse; and this is so generally true, that a very ingenious author remarks, that landed men, in all countries, are apt to spend more than their incomes; whereas moneyed ones generally spend less. Another circumstance is, that few or no possessions in money, in any country, arise to so considerable an amount as estates in land. An hundred thousand pounds is a very great fortune in all the commercial counties of Europe to be made by trade, but it forms but a small estate in land; and where trade raises one fortune much more considerable than that sum, land yields twenty; from both which circumstances it follows, that the country which does not abound with great estates in land, cannot well come to such excess in luxury as that which does.

Holland is one of those countries which contains no men of great landed estates: the most considerable part of the people are engaged in some trade or lucrative profession: they hardly know what a landed interest is; so that the number of idle persons that are rich, consists almost entirely of people in office, the military, and foreigners. Hence arises that moderate degree of luxury, which
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is found in their principal cities, particularly the Hague, which is the principal place of expence and diffipation. Take a view of London or Paris, and you see an immense expence, lavished upon foundations for every art, and every means of enjoyment. You see costly operas, splendid theatres, academies, exhibitions, with such a variety of public diversions, that it would puzzle an inhabitant to name them all. Every day rears new temples of pleasure, each more costly than the former. But at the Hague, you see very little of these fine doings; they are expensive in concerts and private assemblies; but even in these, the cities named above far exceed them. There is a greater expence in music, lavished at London in one spring in concerts, than at the Hague in two years.

Respecting great establishments for the arts and theatres, and for public amusement, great cities, which are the residence of a court, may naturally be supposed much to exceed the celebrated village of Holland. The one depends very much on the administration of the sovereign power; the other, on the vast concourse of people, crowded into one town, which must inevitably occasion

more expensive and numerous places of public diversion.

And if we transfer the enquiry from an examination of the public testimonies of luxury to the private ones, we shall find, that the Dutch are equally below the excess of the great capitals of the British and French monarchies. There are few marks at the Hague of the devouring profusion of luxury, which is every day to be seen in private families at London and Paris. Splendid edifices, furnished with all the profuseness of expensive elegance; bands of domestics more numerous than those of some sovereign Prince's; liveries in which every expence of cloathing is exhausted; tables spread with a profusion of the choicest eatables Europe can afford; the whole world is ransacked for costly wines; no expence spared in all the articles of dress, equipage, and amusement, and also deep gaming; part of the year spent in the country upon a plan as expensive as the very excess of a town life; every kind of rural improvement carried on, buildings, gardens, parks, lakes, temples, plantations, and all the variety of country amusements. To these may be added, subscriptions to public diversions, patronage to the arts and learning,

learning, and an hundred other ways of exhausting the income of an immense fortune.

In comparison to such a system of luxury, it must be confessed, that neither the Hague, nor any of the Dutch cities, present a similar spectacle; nothing in them carries so profuse, so luxurious a countenance; they have their luxury, but it is coloured in much milder tints; nothing so glaring, nothing that shews such an immensity of wealth: and let it ever be remembered, that the degree of luxury will ever be regulated by the quantity of money in that circulation, which is independent of necessaries. This distinction will not give a bad idea of the state of luxury among the Dutch: you see a very different people from those described by the writers of the last century, but you do not see the elegance, and expensive profusion of the great monarchies of Europe, which at present make the principal figure.

In their edifices, the people of large fortune in Holland are expensive, but not magnificent. They build great houses with immense apartments, but compared with the rooms of our English palaces, they are but barns; and more wanting in the article of fitting up and finishing, than can well be conceived. In the palaces of London, and

in the numerous seats which ornament our counties, there is to be found every exertion of taste and magnificence, directed by the hand of wealth and liberality. In Holland, the furniture is, what in England would be called handsome, but not to be named with that which ornaments the houses of our nobility and rich gentry: here however let me observe, that the national cleanliness of the Dutch, though by no means carried to the excess which the common people delight in, renders their apartments infinitely more pleasing than those which in Italy and France are ornamented in the most superb taste. We certainly are not so clean as the highest ranks in Holland, but the mixture of neatness and decoration in our houses exceed any thing we see either in Holland, France, or Italy.

Thus, as far as public diversions, establishments of the arts, architecture, furniture, dress, and equipage, &c. extend, we find there is no comparison between the great kingdoms of Europe and Holland; but it must not therefore be taken for granted, that all these things, in that country, are conducted in a mean, or totally frugal stile, or in the manner they were in the last age. On the contrary, they are all in a much more elegant

elegant taste; great improvements have been made in all. A plainness and simplicity were formerly found in all these, and a humility, if one may so express it, but now a shew and expence is spread through them, which shews, that they want nothing but the wealth to equal the greatest exertions of our richest nobles.

I think the greatest expence, considering the object comparatively, in which the Dutch indulge, is that of the table; for, in their entertainments, their tables are spread in a most elegant and plenteous manner, and their wines are much more numerous than are common in France or England, with persons of equal fortune, or even of superior ones; and this I take to be their principal expence. I have often seen four courses, and a most rich desert, at the tables of persons whose income does not exceed four thousand pounds a year English: and let me remark, that their courses are not like ours, of eight or ten dishes each for a moderate company, but of twenty-five or thirty. Plate is more common at the Hague than would easily be supposed; for many of their rich nobility, and others retired from business, or from office, eat off very superb services.

The number of their domestics is not, in general, equal to those of persons of similar fortune in France or England. In the latter country, we have within these few years discontinued the abominable custom of suffering them to receive vails from our company; but in France the custom yet continues, and more still in Holland; at a single dinner, I have feed no less than seven attendants.

They make great feasts in Holland upon certain occasions, such as weddings, the birth of a son and heir, the arrival of a son or friend from the East Indies, &c, in which they exhaust every species of luxury their fortunes will allow them to indulge in. I was present at one of these feasts at Amsterdam, where I believe eight tables were four times covered, and each course above an hundred dishes.

In England, people of considerable fortunes are much divided between the town and the country; their house at London, and their seat in one of the counties, form almost a contrast; yet great expence is lavished in both. Great improvements in rural beauties are made; the whole neighbourhood ornamented; fine roads constructed at a private expence, or from a private attention with supporting

supporting the figure of their ancestors, that have resided there for ages, with provincial hospitality, mixed in this age with much politeness, altogether form a system of living totally unknown in France: and in Holland, the custom is neither so extensive, so beneficial, or so magnificent. Country seats there are all compact snug boxes, with hardly any appearance of command or territory about them; much resembling, in that respect, the houses our London citizens erected twenty miles round the capital. They are all neat, small, and with gardens of no extent, but with much clipt regularity; every thing in the taste which England knew fifty years ago, but not quite so expensive. They have too many fountains in them, which is as preposterous in their cold, damp country, as they are agreeable in the sultry climes of Spain or Italy.

Relative to the accomplishments and education of youth, the Dutch have followed the French pretty attentively, though with variations that are sensible. The education of young men consists in their colleges, and then foreign travel, under German tutors: on their return home, they either gain some honourable and lucrative post, or enter into the army, or go into foreign service, or live

at home upon their own income; these are their young nobility, or other persons of large independent fortune; but the inferior ranks are all very fond of sending their children to some of their own universities, though but for a year or two; and rather to boast of it, than for any real advantage. The number of men in counting houses, that have had what they call a learned education is very great, but then it should be remembered, that their universities being antient, were regulated upon the frugal ideas of their ancestors; there is not that variety of dissipation and expence, which is the disgrace and bane of those of Oxford and Cambridge: a young man, designed for trade, may be ventured to Leyden or Utrecht, without other danger than giving him such a relish for literature, as to induce him afterwards in the counting-house to think of other books than the journal and ledger; but at our universities, the man who designs his son for a merchant, had better hang him than send him to them: he acquires such a taste of extravagance, as to be utterly unfit ever after for the prudence and œconomy of trade; nor is this all, for the morals of the youth are incomparably purer at the Dutch universities, than the English ones;

ones; which, I must own, are little better than seminaries of vice.

It is astonishing, that a new system is not introduced in England, for educating such youth as are not designed for fine gentlemen; for the sons of those parents who wish to preserve the morals of their children, as well as their Latin and Greek. The present method is diametrically contrary to it; one of the principal schools in the kingdom is in the capital, and the boys lodged at private houses; and this is an early introduction to all the vice of London. Instead of this, I would have a school in as solitary a place as possible; never in a town, or even in a great village, but in a retired spot, to keep them from the mischiefs which the capital every moment presents to their age. It is talking very extravagantly to say, that as the boy must afterwards live in the world, he therefore should experience it from the beginning; because his gaining a knowledge of the villainies practised in that low life, to which children naturally run for amusement, can never be of any utility to them in the world; nor do I know of any advantages gained, from his being p—d by twelve years old. The same rule should be followed at College; instead of crowding them all together

gether, and forming a great town, I would have them single, and in the country: one strong advantage of this would be, the taking from their eyes constant examples of extravagance and expence, which all the neighbouring Colleges must exhibit; and which will generally be in proportion to the number of them, and the size of the town in which they are situated. Youth at College should spend their time in study and recreation; but what recreation proper for them does a town yield? Do not the adjacent fields, commons, or forests, exhibit a much better scene of amusement, to brace their strength, confirm their health, and keep them active and lively?

For young men, whether educated at College or in private, Holland abounds with numerous masters, who teach the polite exercises, such as the French tongue, dancing, fencing, music, and the living languages, all which are easily learned at the Hague, and several of their cities; and they are in general fond of these accomplishments. Their daughters are most assiduously educated in them, even with more attention, I think, fortune considered, than in England. All the women in Holland, of any fashion, dress, talk,

talk, and affect very much the manners of the French.

It is a great mistake to suppose, that in this trading Republic, whose people have so long been famous for their frugality and modesty, a knowledge and acquaintance with all those embellishments of life, which luxury has spread through Europe, is wanting. On the contrary, tho' the Dutch are almost entirely changed, their frugality is yet more national than any where else; but it is confined to the lower classes, or to people of small fortune; but among the superior ranks, and the rich, I know hardly any country where they spend their money more freely to pass their time agreeably, and enjoy whatever their rank and fortune entitles them to. You see every where good houses, well furnished; plentiful and elegant tables kept, numerous servants, equipages as common as elsewhere, rich dresses, with some public diversions; and in the education of their children no expence spared. In a word, you view not only all the conveniencies of life, but those improvements, those refinements, which rich and luxurious ages only know.

Respecting the temper and disposition of the people, I shall not, by any means pretend

tend to analyse them. It is at least an invidious task, even in travellers who reside long in a country, and much more so in one that makes so short a stay: I shall therefore only remark, that I observed a great variety of character, and, at which I am not surprized; for the vast number of foreigners of all nations and ranks, who reside in Holland, must certainly take off much from the appearance of the uniformity of national character. However, the Dutch are certainly a valuable people, and in general, possessing as many good qualities as any of their neighbours. They are friendly and sincere, and the better ranks have a politeness and an unaffected ease, which render them very agreeable. No where are to be found more learned men, or such as have seen more of the world, and fixed at last in Holland. Literature is much cultivated, and the presses of this country are amazingly numerous, for they print editions of all the capital books, (and many others) that are printed in France, Germany, Italy, or England; and though it is often done with views of exportation and trade, yet it serves to spread a general knowledge and taste for literature and the sciences.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Considerations on the Present State of the Power, &c. of the Republic, and her Connexions with the other Nations of Europe.

SIR William Temple remarked, more than a century ago, that the Dutch had passed the meridian of their trade; and from the events of the last fifty years, nothing is more evident than the declension of their power. In the middle of the last century, they were a match at sea for the combined fleets of France and England; but in the successive war, their navy was much sunk; and in that of 1741, their maritime force was not comparable to that of England. At present, it is quite sunk, if we consider it as the fleet of the Republic, which, joined with England, was called a maritime power. That they have a fleet cannot be denied, but the ships are very few in number, in very bad order, and scarcely any force ready for real service; so that we may safely speak of it, as an annihilated marine. It is true, they have
vast

vast numbers of sailors; but these alone do not constitute a force at sea: ships, regularly building in succession, and kept in excellent order, stores, magazines, yards, docks, timber, and an hundred other articles, all different from what trade employs, are necessary, and must be kept regularly, or a powerful fleet will never be constituted. The marine of England costs an immense annual sum, and yet the best judges of it assert, we are much too sparing in our expences in it; but in Holland, the expence of the navy is so retrenched and curtailed, that it is hardly an object in the finances.

This neglect of their marine is a most impolitic conduct in the Dutch; for a trading power to rely more on its land forces, than on its navy, is such an infatuation, that nothing but a very favourable complection of affairs among its neighbours, can prevent extreme ill consequences following. During the last war, the Dutch were driven into an open violation of their treaties with England, by refusing to send the succours agreed on by treaty, in case of a threatened invasion of Britain by France. The Republic depends on the force of her land troops, and yet is governed by French councils; not from affection, but through fear.

fear. France has little to fear from her anger, and therefore bullies her without ceremony; but this would not be the case, if Holland was possessed of a formidable marine; she would treat the Republic with more respect, if an hundred sail of the line of Dutch ships could, at a short warning, be added to the fleets of England.

The Dutch army has generally proved insufficient for their defence in a land war, whereas their fleets have, more than once, brought them off in triumph, and concluded their quarrels to their advantage. Their very being depends on the prosperity of their trade, and of what avail are their armies in defence of that? In the invasion of 1672, when the proud monarch of France kept his court at Utrecht, their army was of very little consequence; but at that dangerous crisis, it was not so with their fleet; the Dutch were masters at sea, or, at least, safe from great dangers. France had no force to oppose them on that element, whereon all trade is carried on.

But let us look to future events, against whom can Holland ever want to arm? Certainly against none but landed enemies or naval ones: probably, against either England, through a jealousy of trade, and the domineering

domineering disposition of France; or against France, through the solicitations of England, or the impossibility of complying with the demands of France. In either of these cases, the Republic would find that strength by sea would be of the most use to her. Of what avail would her army be against England? In the present condition of her navy, she would be utterly ruined by the shipping of Britain, that is, she would have all her trade destroyed, and would probably lose some of her colonies and settlements, at least suffer immense losses. In case of a war with France, her treasures, joined with those of England, would be able to defend her by land, through the assistance of the mercenary forces, and her fleets might be let loose on the French trade and settlements, to their destruction, if they joined an hundred sail of the line to the marine of England; and which, in good politicks, they ought to be able to do, their vast trade considered.

But in answer to all this, it is said, and in part justly, that that the revenues of Holland are so deeply mortgaged, that their government is absolutely precluded from all expensive undertakings; and that, as to a renovation of their marine, to any effectual

tual purpose, it is a business much beyond their power: there is some truth in this, but not to so great a degree as asserted by many persons who make use of the argument. The arrangement of the state expences is not formed according to the real interest of the country; their army, on comparison with their navy, is too great; and there is a negligence and interestedness crept into their finances, which cramps them in all their operations. It is the opinion of many very sensible, as well as candid persons among them, that if their navy was once more the principal object of their attention, with a spirited, active, and disinterested administration, that their state would have it well in their power to restore their marine, if not to so high a pitch of prosperity as in the middle of the last century, at least, to be extremely formidable to the combined fleets of France and Spain, and respectable even to the potent marine of England.

Considering how natural a naval force is to so great a trading power, I do not think this opinion has any thing extravagant in it. Their finances well managed, would allow it, and at the same time, keep a respectable body of troops in pay, but upon a reformed system. It is true, the Republic is much in

debt, but then they have a custom (which would at once overturn our public credit) of taxing the principal and the interest too; but the grand object in such exertions is favourable to them; the expending a great part of their revenue, in the channel most consistent with their real interests, and according to the inclinations and the wishes of their subjects; money generally goes very far, and is well spent, when it is done under such circumstances.

France has had a remarkable prevalence in the councils of the Republic since the last campaign of Counts Saxe and Lowendahl. This has been evidently owing to a fear of being over-run by the armies of that monarchy; but such a radical fear, which is like a dubious existence, should be shook off by a sovereign state; for a dependance on the will of a neighbour is miserable politics, and little less than being subject to it. If any power is great enough to demand this attention, it approaches so near to an absolute subjection, that any measure is preferable: the existence of such a formidable power, is argument sufficient to oppose it, and endeavour to reduce it, by alliances and military operations, to a condition less haughty. This was the wise conduct of the
Dutch

Dutch, through the latter half of the preceding century, and the beginning of the present; a time when France was more powerful than at present; and the great success, which attended the plan, was proof sufficient of its propriety.

The sovereignty of Holland depends extremely on the power of France being kept within such limits, as to prevent her from giving umbrage to any of her neighbours. A kingdom that keeps a neighbouring state in check, and governs her councils, is too powerful for such state; and a submission or acquiescence in her dictates, only increases the disease; an immediate, bold, and resolute opposition, is the only effectual remedy. This the Dutch found so effectual against Louis XIV. in the height of his power; but they have not behaved with so much firmness against his less powerful successor.

I have, more than once, heard the conduct of the Dutch, in their partiality to France, commended upon the principles of lessening the competition of England in trade. Such persons asserted, that the power of any neighbour, who grows great at sea, and by means of a vast commerce, cannot fail of being far more mischievous to the Dutch, than any danger they may be in

from France ; but this is only a superficial argument, it has nothing real in it : they must know very little of the trade of Europe, who assert, that the growth of the British commerce is proportioned or occasioned by the decline of that of Holland. The great increase of commerce in England, arises almost totally from her colonies and settlements, in which she by no means rivals the Dutch ; even in the East Indies, the great growth of her company has nothing in it detrimental to that of Holland. The real rivals of the Dutch in trade are, First, the general spirit of commerce, lately diffused through all the countries of Europe, and which has destroyed much of her carrying trade. Secondly, the rise and increase of commerce at Hamburgh, and the Hanse-Towns, and, in general, among the northern kingdoms, who, in many articles, undersell the Dutch in their own trade. These are the causes which have operated most against them, and not the competition of England, any more than that of all their other neighbours. The vast commerce once carried on by Holland, was infinitely owing to the negligence and backwardness in trade of all the other nations in Europe : while they were the carriers, and had the commissions of all Europe ;

rope; while Amsterdam was the only great general magazine in the world, no wonder their nation grew great by trade; and it is as little surprizing, that, after their neighbours have found out their interests better, their great commerce should decline.

England, therefore, is by no means their rival in trade, since the prosperity of her commerce arises from sources extremely different from any that ever flowed in favour of the Dutch; to oppose that neighbour, therefore, by submitting to the imperial dictates of France, can never be for the true interest of their country. France, by land, is much more than a rival to them; she threatens their very existence as an independant state: it is not by negotiation, that she brings them into her measures, but by the terror of her encampments. This is inconsistent with the freedom of the Republic; and an acquiescence with such violent requests, will, by degrees, pave the way for more minute commands.

As to the prospects in future of the Republic, they are not difficult to conjecture at, for they are solely dependant on her trade. The country of the Seven Provinces is too poor and inconsiderable to support the people, much less to maintain their power

and independance; all reflections, therefore, on the duration of their Republic, must turn on that of their commerce. As to the events of military operations, they must be thrown out of the question; not that there is any, even the least probability of her fate being decided by them, whether she continues absolutely neuter, or opposes that of France; for that monarchy is now sunk too low to create any longer in her neighbours any fears about their independency, provided they follow the dictates of their interest in opposing her.

I cannot agree with those writers, who predict an early downfall of the Dutch commerce. I think, on the contrary, that it may continue in the degree it is in at present, for some ages; and my reasons for thinking so, are as follow: They have, for some years, stood the opposition of as severe a competition as can ever happen to them. For twenty or thirty years past, all Europe has been eager to get as much trade and manufactures as possible; the commerce of England has risen to a pitch beyond which it can scarcely mount much higher; that of France has certainly seen its most flourishing days; for those, who are best acquainted with the manufactures of the French, assert, that

that they are much declined, and that they can never arrive at the prosperity which they once enjoyed. Now neither of the nations which, Holland excepted, possess the greatest trade of Europe, have ever been able, in their most prosperous days, to succeed the Dutch in their carrying trade: their commerce has been all of a different nature; that people, consequently, can have no fears in future, of the rivalship of a declining commerce. Hamburgh and the north do them some mischief by carrying on that commerce for themselves, which formerly the Dutch executed for them; but as to their gaining a superiority in their general trade, it was never dreamed of; and as to the other powers of Europe, they are of no consequence in the enquiry.

Thus we find, that the general rivalship of the Dutch, has consisted in little more than their neighbours buying and selling of one another, instead of letting the Dutch navigation come in between; this they have strenuously endeavoured to do, and have, in part, succeeded in: but take a view of the commerce of Holland, and you will see, that even in this age, while all the powers of Europe have been so eager in matters of trade, that the Dutch, though they have suffered much, are by no means

driven to the wall ; even in this point, the buying and selling trade, they possess at present much more than all the rest of Europe put together. So difficult is it, without very great changes in war or politicks, to overturn an established trade. The advantages of great stocks, experience, plenty of shipping, and numerous manufactures, will drive on a trade, when almost every other circumstance seems adverse.

But the buying and selling trade is not the most material part of the Dutch commerce, their fisheries are of much more importance ; and in these, they are, comparatively speaking, without a rival ; these bring in immense riches to the state, support a vast population, and provide a certain and independent market for very many of the best manufactures in Holland. Besides this material branch of trade, they possess another, in which they are totally unrivalled, and which is an essential part of their East India commerce, the spices. In the West Indies, they have some flourishing colonies, and in the Terra Australis Incognita, they have a sheet anchor to avail themselves of, when all other resources fail. The mention of this great unknown continent, reminds me

me of a few observations which should not be omitted.

I made several enquiries at Amsterdam, concerning the general ideas in Holland of that continent, and what was supposed to be the national plan with relation to it. I found the Dutch universally esteemed it, as belonging entirely to themselves, but seemed, at the same time, to admit, that other powers had pretensions to parts, which might prevent them from openly making good their claim. Parts of this country, they esteem a national object, of more importance than any other; and I found, they think it better known by the government of their East India company, and consequently by the States General, than by any other administration in Europe. Much intelligence they seem to have received, concerning the present state, quite unknown to the rest of the world. Certainly there have been, even within these ten years, several ships sent from Batavia on discoveries, which have escaped the busy Gazette politicians throughout Europe. The event of the discoveries was kept, in general, as secret as possible, under the mask of giving out, that nothing of moment was seen or discovered, and a pretended regret at an useless expence: of this,

this, however, some sailors gave very different accounts, and several circumstances were whispered in India, which seemed to speak the discovery of several islands of immense extent, very populous in inoffensive savages, and perfectly rich and fertile; and what much confirmed these reports, was the dispatch of other ships, which did not carry the appearance of regretting the expence of the first.

Upon the whole, it is supposed, that the company has discovered several tracks of infinite importance, not only to trade, but for colonization, and which may turn out of amazing consequence to Holland, in case it is ever found necessary to have recourse to new objects to support the trade and commerce of that Republic: it is supposed, that the company have acted, in the whole affair, under the direction of the government; and that the particulars will be kept secret, till a proper use can be made of such discoveries.

It has been a matter acknowledged by the best voyage writers, geographers, and historians, that the existence of a great southern continent, or many vast islands, as large as the continent, could not be disputed; and we have been informed also, from the
minutes

minutes of various circumnavigators, that the productions of some parts of those vast tracks, were as rich as those of any other part of the world. This indeed is perfectly consistent with reason; for a country that extends almost to the line, must be possessed of all those rich productions, common to similar latitudes: is it not therefore amazing, that other powers of Europe, who are at present so warm in the struggle for trade, should not have thought of establishing colonies or settlements in some of these unknown regions? Many tracks of these southern countries may, probably, contain such rich commodities, and would admit of the cultivation of such valuable productions, as might be of more importance in a settlement, than twenty of those little objects in Europe about which we are so solicitous; nor can we reflect on the forbearance of the Dutch without surprise. On what principal is it? Upon what plan do they conduct themselves? To what end do they point? Why do they neglect these great discoveries, till they meet with such misfortunes, that they must be looked on as a dernier resource? Is a nation in such a situation able to make use of, or to defend new acquisitions?

It

It much imports the Dutch to reflect, that their Republic arose to the highest pitch of grandeur, in the midst of the most adventurous expeditions. While they were involved at home in the miseries of perpetual quarrels, and defending themselves in a long war against their old masters, the Spaniards, they ventured into distant regions and unknown seas; they made numerous discoveries, and many conquests in the East Indies, laying the foundation of that power, which has since so much surprized all the powers of the East. At a time when it was thought impossible for them to defend themselves, they adventured upon a thousand hazardous expeditions. It was an age of enterprize and heroism; while all this seeming extravagance continued, their Republic flourished in an unexampled manner; trade was perpetually upon the increase, nothing could satisfy the spirit of their industry; while a commerce was rising, which much exceeded that of the greatest kingdoms, they were not satisfied, but adventured further, and undertook a number of important expeditions, which, in this age, would carry the appearance of romance. It was this spirit of enterprize that laid the foundation of all their trade in the East Indies; and let it ever be remembered, that

that from the time it died, their commerce declined.

While they were upon the increase in trade and prosperity, they never considered whether they had trade enough; on the contrary, they ever sought after more, and adventured boldly in quest of it. It was this spirit that created trade. But since they have been upon the decline, and have been guided by poorer ideas, we have seen none of this spirit exerted; but in proportion as their commerce has fallen, they have been careful to smother all such enterprizing spirits; to damp the noble ardour, which fired the founders of their Republic, and to rest fully satisfied with what a more ignoble fate decreed them. They have, for more than an age, been well satisfied with that degree of trade which their neighbours, in the ordinary course of business, left them. It was therefore very plain, that they would make no advances; for those who are willing to stand still, are not likely to push beyond mediocrity. If their principles were just, upon which they first neglected the prosecution of enterprizes, and the discoveries of new sources of trade, they ought immediately to have restored that animating spirit when they found themselves on the decline, which

which is more than an hundred years ago. The moment that such a suspicion broke forth, they should have roused the latent ardour, which once carried them to enterprize and conquest. Then was their time for making every effort of this kind to raise new sources of trade, to answer those which the competition among their neighbours in Europe began to undermine.

Nothing can be more contrary to the spirit of enterprize and discovery, than the pacific disposition of the Dutch for many years last past. I will venture to say, that nothing is more contrary to the genius of trade. Their commerce arose and flourished in the midst of incessant war; it falls in the midst of perpetual peace. Discoveries, of the nature which I have been mentioning, might restore it to its original prosperity. The present markets for Dutch manufactures, are every where hurt by the competition of their neighbours; but in the populous regions of the South, new ones of the most advantageous nature might be opened, in which no rival ship could prejudice them. I cannot understand the arguments, that are used against their accepting what is so liberally offered them. But to return:

All

All these articles of trade, of which the Republic is yet in a flourishing possession, appear to be sufficient to insure her against that ruin, which some authors are so ready to denounce. They do not properly consider the importance of that established industry which is found in Holland: nothing is more difficult than to oppose and rival a nation, long fixed and established in all the articles that constitute a great trade. The several advantages which I have just named, all unite to favour, in an high degree, the general commerce of Holland, by filling the national magazines with a variety of commodities no where else to be had; this gives her an advantage, in the preparing assortments of all commodities, well known by the nations long in trade. It is of the nature of the trade, carried on by the European companies in the East Indies, in which the Dutch have a great advantage from the monopoly of spices; this gives them a superiority to other people in every article they deal in.

Another great advantage to Holland, is the nature of the countries which may be reckoned their principal rivals in trade. England and France are fertile and extensive kingdoms, which have an object of much greater

greater importance than commerce, which is agriculture; and of course, they cannot give that entire attention to the concerns of trade, which laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic. Inhabiting a miserable, neglected spot, which almost sets culture at defiance, and full of cities, towns, and villages almost crowded upon one another, the Dutch found themselves under the necessity of applying to the sea for a subsistence. Fisheries and commerce, in such circumstances, throve wonderfully; the number of their sailors increased amazingly; and their ports were presently surrounded with docks for building ships; until they came to possess more of that manufacture, if it may be so called, than all the rest of Europe put together. This quick progress was much occasioned by the vast number of people crowded into a small barren spot. But France and England, being in every thing different, and although they could raise a very considerable trade in their products, and particularly in the supply of their colonies, could never gain that great general commerce of buying and selling, freighting and commission, which the Dutch so long possessed, and do yet possess so much more of than any other country in Europe.

The

The other rivals of Holland have no chance of equalling that country in commerce; Hamburgh is without an East India company, and has no colonies in the West Indies, besides consisting of a single weak town. And the powers of the North cannot, in the nature of things, make any greater advance than supplying themselves with their imports, and exporting pretty much in their own bottoms; and even this, they will not be able fully to accomplish: so that we may venture to suppose, that the Dutch have experienced as dangerous a competition as any they have reason to expect.

An allowance, however, I am sensible, should here be made, for the evils which multiply, when a nation tends more to decline than prosperity. When they are advancing, every accident almost is favourable, every limb of the body is vigorous and active, nothing hurts; but there is an increasing corruption in a declining state, which no remedies can cure. This is a truth with the Dutch; but then it is also a truth with every nation on the globe. It is now the case strongly with their neighbours the French; it was the case with their old masters, the Spaniards; and probably will be the event in the history of all other people. Such ef-

fects, which are in common with all other countries, are not to be reasoned upon; we can only examine the probability of those events which depend upon themselves.

The Dutch are yet, most certainly, a considerable people; and though not upon the increase, yet very flourishing. In possession of much more trade, all things compared, than any nation in the world; they are more populous than any country in Europe; and continue to give that general protection and reception to all who will resort thither. They are wealthy; and though burthened with public debts, yet are formidable, if they exert themselves. They are in this situation at a time when they have long stood a violent competition in trade with all their neighbours. That competition cannot probably be carried further; it is not easy therefore to assign any good reasons for their soon decaying, but many for thinking that they may long continue a great commercial people.

Political disputes may certainly arise, that may prove more dangerous than trading ones. But it is not easy to name any potentate, who has the least probability of making conquests on the Dutch. France, as long as they preserve their neutrality, will have no interest or inclination to quarrel with

with them; but in case of a French war, other nations would not allow France to make a conquest on them. Holland therefore would never have to stand singly against France; England, and a considerable part of Germany, would be sure to be in alliance with her, which would form such an union that France, in all probability, would never be able to overpower. The decay of the French power is so clear and manifest, that she has more reason to fear such an alliance, than to hope advantages from fighting against it.

Some little disputes have happened within these few years, which manifested no good will in the King of Prussia towards the Republic; but there is not any reason to imagine, that they will ever break out into an open rupture; the Dutch have nothing to fear from him. That monarch is well known to harbour too many ambitious designs ever to be allowed to march an army against any of his neighbours, without a force sufficient to repel him being in readiness: the powers of Germany would never allow him to make any conquests on the Dutch; and a war which will not bring advantages, will never be undertaken by his Prussian Majesty. In the present system of

affairs in Germany, France would undoubtedly march to the assistance of the Dutch; and certainly make no small merit in future negotiations of such an exertion of their own interest. But in case France and Prussia fell into an alliance, Austria would be equally interested in falling on Silesia, while the King was engaged in so distant an undertaking; to say nothing of the part which Hanover, and many other German Princes, would take.

There are no other potentates from whom the Dutch have any thing, even in idea, to fear. And upon the whole, there is not any probability of their being drawn into a war. The operations of the last were very general in Europe; and that between the French and English close upon their frontiers; yet they escaped from taking any part. Nothing but a violent determination in some of the parties, to force them from a neutrality, by attacking them, in case they do not declare themselves, will have the effect of driving them from their pacific system; but such a conduct in any party is extremely improbable.

From every view that can be taken of the events which are likely to happen, I think there is good reason to suppose, the affairs of
Holland

Holland will continue much in the same state they are at present. Their trade will not increase; it may rather decline, but not dangerously; they will avoid any quarrels with their neighbours, and continue in wealth and peace probably for many years.

End of the First Volume.

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He had with him a small
box of tools and a
bag of provisions. He
was not alone; he had
a companion who was
very old and very
weak. They were in
the mountains and
were very much
fatigued.

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Marshall, Joseph

Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland,
Russia, the Ukraine and Poland in the years 1768, 1769, and 1770 ...

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